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PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

VOL. VIII.

LONDON:

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Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

HENRIETTA MARIA, QUEEN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

OB. 1669.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE Rt HONble THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

London, Published Oct.1 1833 : by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA,

WIFE TO KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

It has been the inveterate fashion of history to ascribe to the influence of this Lady most of the errors of the reign of her unfortunate consort. Royalist and republican writers have joined in this censure with equal readiness; the one with a view of shifting from the conduct of the King on her defenceless memory the blame of all evil counsels which she might by possibility have suggested, the other to discredit his character by the imputation of a weak and servile compliance with the capricious will of a woman whom he loved. Amidst a cloud of prejudice, and error often wilful, each has been to a certain degree just. Almost all however but her beauty has been in some measure misrepresented, and that, indeed, till now, has never received full justice from the graver.

Henrietta Maria was the sixth and youngest child of Henry the fourth of France, by Mary, daughter of Francis de Medicis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and was born on the twenty-fifth of November, 1609, exactly six months before the murther of her incomparable father. She had scarcely passed the years of childhood when her kinsman, Charles de Bourbon, Count of Soissons, and second Prince of the blood of France, openly pretended to her hand, and for three years together pressed his suit with a pertinacity to which the opinion of the French Council of Regency, and even a formal prohibition in the name of the minor Monarch, her brother, Louis the thirteenth, were vainly opposed. The embarrassment produced by the Count's passion, which seems however to have met with little encouragement from herself, had prevented the eligible addresses of some foreign Princes, when at

length Charles, passing through Paris in 1623 on his fruitless matrimonial journey to Spain, had an opportunity, himself wholly unobserved, of seeing her at a ball in the Louvre; was struck by her charms; and, on the dissolution of the treaty for the Infanta, determined to solicit his father's permission to his demanding her in marriage. James, though the measure was contrary to much of his habitual policy, was induced, chiefly by the splendor of the alliance, to consent; France, with stronger motives, readily accepted the proposal; and it was presently negotiated at Paris by the Earls of Carlisle and Holland, in a memoir of the latter of which noblemen, which has already appeared in this work, some remarkable particulars relative to the treaty may be found. The ceremony of the espousals was performed by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault (not de Richelieu, as many writers have it) at Notre Dame, on the eleventh of May, 1625; and on the twenty-second of the next month the young Queen, for James died before the completion of the marriage, landed at Dover.

We have abundant relations of the delicate and refined greetings which occurred on the first meeting of Charles and his lovely bride. A small and superficial narrative, printed in London in 1671, two years after her death, and the only piece of biography hitherto dedicated to her memory, informs us, prettily enough, that "Charles received her at Dover on the top of the stairs, she striving, on her knees, to kiss his hands, and he preventing her with civilities on her lips: that, being retired, she wept, and he kissed off her tears, professing he would do so till she had done, and persuading her that she was not fallen into the hands of strangers, as she apprehended, tremblingly, but into the wise disposal of God, who would have her leave her kindred, and cleave to her spouse; he professing to be no longer master of himself than whilst he was servant to her." Soon after, they fell into more composed conversation, and, says the writer of a private letter, Charles took her up in his arms, kissed her, and, talking with her, cast down his eyes towards her feet, she, seeming taller than

report was, reaching to his shoulders; which she soon perceiving discovered, and shewed him her shoes, saying to this effect, "Sir, I stand upon mine own feet. I have no help by art. Thus high I am, and am rather higher than lower." But to proceed to matters more serious—

Henrietta Maria was a zealous, not to say bigoted, disciple of the church of Rome, and her family had obtained terms from James on that score, to which it is surprising that a Prince who affected to be the chief patron of the reformers should have consented. She came, says father Daniel, "avec toutes les précautions prisés pour la liberté et la sureté de sa religion;" but many of these extended far beyond the provisions necessary to secure to her the freedom of religious worship; for example, it was even stipulated by the treaty that the education of her children till they reached the age of thirteen should be solely under her controul. The French clergy who formed part of her suite on her arrival were intoxicated by these concessions. They were in number twenty-eight, with a Bishop at their head, and they came full fraught with hopes and expedients for the restoration of the ancient faith. In this view they lost no time in practising its ceremonies with the utmost publicity, and frequently made her a personal partaker in them, as a most surprising instance of which, they persuaded her to walk through the streets in procession, in a rainy day, from Somerset-house, her residence, to Tyburn, to offer up her prayers for the souls of Catholics who had been executed there, among whom it must be recollected were Percy, and his associates, who had lately suffered for conspiring to destroy at a blow the King and the two Houses of Parliament. Her female attendants, with less ground of excuse, behaved with yet more insolence; claimed places of honour which were not due to them, and in resentment for the denial of them, set the Queen, to use Charles's own words, "in such a humour of distaste against him, as from that hour no man could say that she ever used him two days together with so much respect as he deserved of her." New

occasions of disgust and discord now occurred every hour. She positively rejected the establishment which the King had formed for her household, on the plan of that of his late mother; and, upon his refusing to admit her French attendants to the superintendance of her jointure, she told him to "take his lands to himself, for if she had no power to put whom she would into those places, she would have neither lands nor house of his, but bade him give her what he thought fit in pension." These extravagances, though but the hasty ebullitions of a sanguine temper in a girl of sixteen in the hands of bad advisers, required instant correction, and they were met by Charles with coolness and discretion. He dispatched the Lord Carleton to Paris to complain of them, and his instructions to that nobleman, dated at Wansted, on the twelfth of July, 1626, furnish the authority for what has been here reported.

Charles ascribed this waywardness chiefly to the influence of the Queen's French attendants, and his anger against them increased in an equal measure with his averseness to attribute it to the temper of his lovely bride. He had long meditated to send them home. So early as the twentieth of November, in the preceding year, he proposes it in a letter to Buckingham, in which he speaks of "the maliciousness of the Monsieurs, by making and fomenting discontentments in his wife," and concludes by saying "I am resolute: it must be done, and that shortly." He delayed it however till the summer, when, on the first of July, he communicated his determination to them in person, and refused to hear their apologies; and, on the seventh of August, in a moment evidently of the highest irritation wrote thus to Buckingham—

"Steenie,

I have received your letter by Dic Greame—this is my answer. I command you to send all the French away tomorrow out of the town: if you can, by fair meanes, but stick not long in

disputing—otherwayes, force them away lyke so many wylde beastes, untill you have shipped them, and so the devil go with them. Let me heare no more answer but of the performance of my command.

Oaking the 7th of August, 1626. "Your faithfull, constant, loving frend, CHARLES R."

That the arrogance and impertinence of these persons had exceeded all due bounds of decency there can be little doubt, but the true cause of the Queen's misbehaviour was wholly unknown to Charles, and in a great measure to herself, and was of a character so singular, and indeed so romantic, that, were it not disclosed to us under an undubitable authority, it would be absolutely incredible. The Duke of Buckingham, who had been to Paris to escort her to England, was mad enough, during his short visit to the French court, to strive to win the affections of Anne of Austria, Louis the thirteenth's Queen, a lady less remarkable for her prudence than for her beauty. When the day arrived for Henrietta Maria's departure, he tore himself from Paris with the utmost difficulty, and, such was his infatuation, that he left her at Boulogne, pretending that he had at that moment received an important commission from his master to the Queen Regent, and hurried back for the sake of one brief interview with Anne, whom he found in bed, and almost alone, and towards whom he behaved with a frantic temerity and extravagance which is curiously described in the conclusion of the fourth volume of de Retz's Memoirs. These circumstances were presently conveyed to Louis, and, had he ventured on such another visit, "provision," says Lord Clarendon, "was made for his reception; and, if he had pursued his attempt, he had been without doubt assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger; but he swore in the instant that he would see, and speak with her, in spite of the strength and power of France; and, from the time that the Queen arrived in England, he took all the ways

he could to undervalue and exasperate that Court and Nation; and omitted no opportunity to incense the King against France; and, which was worse than all this, took great pains to lessen the King's affection towards his young Queen, being exceedingly jealous lest her interest might be of force enough to cross his other designs; and, in this stratagem, he had brought himself to a habit of neglect, and even of rudeness, towards the Queen, so that, upon expostulations with her on a trivial occasion, he told her she should repent it; and her Majesty answering with some quickness, he replied insolently to her that there had been Queens in England who had lost their heads." There can be little doubt that the misconduct of her French servants had been indirectly prompted by Buckingham, and formed a part of his wild an ungenerous plan for the gratification of his hatred to their nation, at the expence of the public and private peace of his too beneficent master.

Buckingham lived long enough to carry his vengeance to the utmost by forcing Charles into a war with France, in the midst of which he was taken off by assassination. From the hour of that event the most perfect cordiality ensued between the King and Queen, founded on a singular agreement, or rather on an harmonious discord, of minds and tempers, which had been hitherto restrained by untoward circumstances from their natural action. Charles, the main features of whose character were compliance and confidence, now, freed from doubts and jealousies, became, for the first time since his marriage, the ardent and submissive lover; while his fair consort, who with an equal measure of tenderness mingled a disposition to rule and to persevere, rose as suddenly from an artificial state of almost childish insignificance to participate in the government of an empire. Clarendon, to whose justness and severity of judgement such a contingency could not but have been highly offensive, thus describes, perhaps with some grains of prejudice, the relative situations of these eminent persons at that time, and indeed ever after—

"The King's affection to the Queen was of a very extraordinary alloy—a composition of conscience, and love, and generosity, and gratitude, and all those noble affections which raise the passion to the greatest height; insomuch as he saw with her eyes, and determined by her judgment, and did not only pay her this adoration, but desired that all men should know that he was swayed by her, which was not good for either of them. The Queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit and humour, and made him a just return of noblest affections, so that they were the true idea of conjugal affection in the age in which they lived. When she was admitted to the knowledge and participation of the most secret affairs (from which she had been carefully restrained by the Duke of Buckingham, whilst he lived) she took delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making judgment of them, in which her passions were always strong. She had felt so much pain in knowing nothing, and meddling with nothing, during the time of that great favourite, that now she took pleasure in nothing but knowing all things, and disposing all things, and thought it but just that she should dispose of all favours and preferments as he had done, at least that nothing of that kind might be done without her privity, not considering that the universal prejudice that great man had undergone was not with reference to his person but his power, and that the same power would be equally obnoxious to murmur and complaint if it resided in any other person than the King himself; and she so far concurred with the King's inclination, that she did not more desire to be possessed of this unlimited power, than that all the world should take notice that she was the entire mistress of it; which, in truth (what other unhappy circumstances soever concurred in the mischief), was the foundation upon which the first, and the utmost prejudices to the King and his government were raised and prosecuted; and it was her Majesty's and the kingdom's misfortune that she had not any person about her who had either ability or affection to inform and advise her of

the temper of the kingdom, or humour of the people, or who thought either worth the caring for."

Burnet, another contemporary, but more removed from the sphere of action than Clarendon; more prejudiced, and less faithful in relation, thus characterises her—"The Queen was a woman of great vivacity in conversation, and loved all her life long to be in intrigues of all sorts, but was not so secret in them as such times and such affairs required. She was bad at contrivance, but much worse in the execution; but by the liveliness of her discourse she made always a great impression on the King; and to her little practises, as well as to the King's own temper, the sequel of all his misfortunes was owing." It is to pictures like these—to general representations—that we must of necessity in a great measure trust in cases the very nature of which forbids the possibility of obtaining historical proofs of particular facts.

The Queen's exertions of her newly acquired influence met with frequent contradictions. The carriage of the Lord Treasurer Weston towards her, as has been already observed in a sketch of his life in this work, was marked by a constant alternation of petulant insults, and degrading apologies. Having provoked her to anger, his first care, on retiring from her presence, was to discover what she had afterwards said of him in her passion: receiving the news with increased alarm, he appealed sometimes to the King's authority, and sometimes to her compassion; and in making his peace, generally betrayed those from whom he had gained the intelligence. Her interference in affairs was not more vexatious now to Weston's irritability than afterwards to Strafford's wisdom, and she regarded that great man with fear, and therefore with some degree of aversion. Burnet plainly points her out as the final cause of his death. He says that Lord Holles, who was brother-in-law to the Earl, and a man deeply engaged with the popular party in Parliament, had suggested to Charles, after he had passed the bill of attainder, a plan for saving him, which was this: that Strafford should prefer

a petition to the King for a short respite, and that Charles, in person, should the next day lay it before the two Houses, as for their advice; Holles promising, says Burnett, "to make interest among his numerous friends to get them to consent to it, and he had prepared a great many by assuring them that if they would save Lord Strafford, he would become wholly their's, in consequence of his first principles; and that he might do them much more service by being preserved, than he could do if made an example upon such new and doubtful points; and in this he had wrought on so many that he believed, if the King's party had struck into it, he had saved Strafford." But the Bishop adds that it was whispered to the Queen that a part of Holles's engagement to his friends was that Strafford should accuse her, and that therefore she not only persuaded the King, instead of moving the Parliament personally on the matter, to send a message to the House of Lords, written with his own hand, by the Prince of Wales, but to add to it, at the conclusion, those dastardly and fatal words, "if he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday."

A moment's reflection on the signal grandeur of Strafford's character will invalidate the whole of this most improbable tale, for if that part of it which relates to him be untrue, and it is incredible that he should have been a party in such a negotiation, no reason remains for believing the vile accusation against the Queen. Amidst the abundance of libels which were about this time poured forth against her, it is remarkable that none are to be found which charge her with a vindictive spirit. She was assailed and threatened by the most brutal and unmanly attacks, which for a short time she disregarded with becoming firmness. She calmly dispatched letters missive, by Sir Kenelm Digby, Walter Montagu, and others, to solicit loans from the Catholics of England and Wales for the relief of Charles's necessities; and it has been said that the King was prompted chiefly by her persuasion to the bold and unhappy measure of demanding the

impeached members in the House of Commons. Echard, an historian generally of credit, ridiculously tells us that she said furiously to Charles, "Allez, Poltron—pull the rogues out by the ears, or never see me more," and compleats the absurdity of his story by quoting his authority. "It appears," says he, "from a private account given by Sir William Coke, of Norfolk, from Mr. Anchitel Grey, brother to the Lord Grey of Groby, that the King, going in the morning into the Queen's apartment, finding the Countess of Carlisle with her, retired with her into her closet, where she used those words, which the Countess overheard, and discovered them to Mr. Pym."

This bold spirit however was soon daunted for the time. The public disorders increased, and she became suddenly terrified by apprehensions for her personal safety. Sir Philip Warwick says, "the Queen was ever more forward than stout." Be that as it might, these painful impressions became presently so strong as to induce her earnestly to solicit Charles's permission to retire into France. She obtained it just at the period when the bill for depriving the Bishops of their votes had passed the two Houses, and was waiting for the King's assent, which he stedfastly refused; when it was whispered to her by Sir John Colepeper, a loyal servant, but a friend to that measure, that if Charles persisted in his denial the Parliament would prohibit her journey; on which she implored the King with such pathetic importunities that he finally gave way, and thus that great wound was inflicted on the hierarchy by her fears. The King now accompanied her to Dover, where, on the twenty-third of February, 1642, O. S. she embarked, with her daughter, the Princess of Orange, for Holland.

There were, however, other motives for her visit to the Continent. It was now evident that the contest between the King and the Parliament must be decided by the sword, and he possessed scarcely the means to equip a single regiment. The Queen, who had before her departure sent most of her plate to the mint,

carried the remainder secretly with her to Holland, together with her own jewels, and many of great value belonging to the Crown, which she there pawned or sold, and laid out the produce in large purchases of arms and ammunition, in spite of the discouragement of the states, who were notoriously adverse to the King's cause. At length, her spirits recruited by safety, and invigorated by reflection on the greatness of the occasion, she sailed to his assistance, the war now fully raging, with a small convoy, furnished by her son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, and disembarked at Burlington, in Yorkshire, where she was met by the Earl of Newcastle, with a sufficient guard. Of the dangers and difficulties which attended her landing, a narrative, written by herself, is extant, a few passages from which perhaps may not be unacceptable—"The next night after we came to Burlington four of the Parliament's ships arrived, without being perceived by us, and about five of the clock in the morning begun to ply us so fast with their ordnance that they made us all rise out of our beds, and leave the village. One of the ships did me the favour to flank upon the house where I lay, and before I was out of my bed the cannon bullets whistled so loud about me that all the company pressed me earnestly to go out of the house, their cannon having totally beaten down all the neighbour houses, and two cannon bullets falling from the top to the bottom of the house where I was; so that, cloathed as well as in haste I could be, I went on foot some little distance out of the town, under the shelter of a ditch, like that of Newmarket, whither before I could get, the cannon bullets fell thick about us, and a servant was killed within seventy paces of me. We in the end gained the ditch, and stayed there two hours, whilst their cannon played all the while on us. The bullets flew, for the most part, over our heads; some few only, grazing on the ditch, covered us with earth, &c. till the ebbing of the tide, and the threats of the Holland Admiral, put an end to that danger."

We discern in this letter a transient spark of the mighty spirit

of her father, nor was it instantly extinguished, for now, having been escorted to York by a body of Horse, commanded by the Earl of Montrose and Lord Ogilvie, she presently raised a powerful force, and marched towards the King, with thirty troops of Horse and Dragoons, and three thousand infantry, at whose head she rode as their commander. She met him at Edge Hill, and accompanied him to Oxford, where she remained, with little intermission, till the spring of 1644, when the rebel Commons having impeached her of high treason, and the royal army suffering some sad reverses of fortune, she fell again under the influence of terror, and, quitting Oxford on the seventeenth of April, then great with child, took leave at Abingdon, for ever in this world, of her royal husband, and travelling towards the western coast arrived at Exeter, where she was delivered of a daughter, and from thence in little more than a fortnight, to Pendennis, in Cornwall, where she embarked for France, and on the fifteenth of July arrived at Brest. She had exacted two promises from Charles at their parting; the one, that he would receive no person who had at any time injured him into his favour or trust without her consent; the other, that he would not make peace with the rebels but through her interposition and mediation, that the kingdom might know the share that she had in procuring it; and his religious observance of those engagements is thought, perhaps erroneously, to have produced ill consequences. The truth is that she would have sacrificed all for conquest. Her exertions therefore in her exile, while hope remained, were unremitted. From France, where the death of Louis, and of Cardinal Richelieu, had placed her mother once more in the station of Regent, and in absolute power, it is not strange that she should have obtained extensive supplies; but she presently established English agents in most of the Courts of Europe, and raised, and conveyed to England and Ireland, from time to time, immense sums. Her negotiations were chiefly managed by herself, and with a caution, and regularity, and dispatch, which prove her

to have possessed talents for which she has hitherto had little credit. It is almost needless to say that these were vain labours. The time approached when she was to be debarred from all duties but such as might strictly and immediately apply to the person of her King and husband, and when it arrived, she wrote, through the French minister in London to those who ruled there, imploring them to grant her "a pass to come over to him; offering to use all her credit with him to induce him to give them satisfaction; and, if they would not allow her to perform those offices on public grounds, that she might at least be permitted to see him, and to be near him in his uttermost extremity." She received no answer.

After the murther of Charles, and a considerable time passed in privacy in the convent at St. Cloud, the Queen again appeared at the French Court. The Palais Royal, and the Castle of St. Germain, were allotted to her for her residences, and an allowance, suitable to her rank, for the support of her family. That, however, and other of her comforts, were gradually curtailed as Cromwell's government gained strength, and France, under the guidance of Cardinal Mazarin, adopted towards it a complaisant policy. She became at length subjected to serious pecuniary inconveniences, and it has been repeated by several writers, on the doubtful authority of de Retz's Memoirs, that she petitioned the Usurper for a pension, which he refused; but that she should have condescended to this is nearly incredible. In the mean time her life was embittered by the indifference with which the young King, her son, treated that advice which perhaps she was ever too ready to give; and by the resistance offered by him and his counsellors to her constant endeavours to instil into her children the principles of her religious faith. Her chief consolation seems now to have been derived from the society, and the services, of Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, who had been for many years her favourite servant, and now managed all her affairs, as well domestic as political. It has been surmised, and perhaps

truly, that she was privately married to that nobleman, but the rumour rests solely on the authority of a very vague passage in the memoirs of Sir John Reresby. The Queen returned to England on the second of November, 1660, and quitted it again for France on the twenty-fifth of the following January: came once more on the twenty-eighth of July, 1662, and left it finally on the twenty-ninth of June, 1665. In these visits we find nothing respecting her worthy of notice, except the highly characteristic circumstances of her conduct on the discovery of the marriage of the Duke of York to the daughter of Lord Clarendon, which are related by that nobleman, at too great length to permit the insertion of them here, in "the Continuation" of his Life.

Queen Henrietta Maria died at the castle of Colombe, four leagues from Paris, on the tenth of August, 1669, N. S. and was buried with her ancestors in the royal abbey of St. Denis.

Engraved by W. Mote.

GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

OB. 1671.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR P. LELY, IN THE

TOWN HALL, EXETER.

London, Published May 1, 1836, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

GEORGE MONK,

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

As we are told that we may cover a multitude of our own sins by our charity, so, in another sense, may it be said that we frequently cover those of others by our gratitude. It is difficult even to discern the faults of one from whom we have received great favour; painful to dwell on the contemplation of them; and scarcely possible to proclaim them. If these amiable feelings flourish in the common familiar intercourse of mankind, in spite of the innumerable disgusts with which the selfish passions torment small and closely connected societies, how much more forcibly must they operate in those rare cases where the benefactor and the objects of his bounty are, in all other respects, wholly independent of each other. In which obligations are the more keenly felt because we can never be reproached with them; and debts readily owned, because they can never be claimed: in which we receive favour without having taken the trouble to deserve it; and run eagerly to acknowledge it, chiefly because no acknowledgment is expected. Such a benefactor was Monk, and he invested the character with the dazzling glory of a nation's saviour; but it was from those dispositions in mankind to which I have endeavoured to allude, that he purchased for his memory not only the praise, but the forbearance of history.

He descended from a Devonshire family of good antiquity, and royal blood ran in his veins, for his great grandfather, Thomas Monk, of Potheridge, in that county, married, for his first wife, Frances, daughter and co-heir of Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, and he sprung from that match. His father, Sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge, the heir to a decayed estate, married

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Smith, of Madworth, also in the same county. He was born on the sixth of December, 1608, and was their second son; was only two years old when his father died, and received such education as he had under the protection of his maternal grandfather. It was probably not more than sufficient to qualify him for the life of a gentleman soldier, in which he was placed in his seventeenth year, when he joined the unsuccessful expedition against Spain, under Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, in the character of a volunteer, and in the following year obtained a pair of colours in the regiment commanded by Sir John Burroughs, in which he served in the equally unfortunate, but less discreditable, affair of the Isle of Rhé. He remained long without promotion, fighting in the Low Countries under the Earl of Oxford, and afterwards Lord Goring, by whom he was at length appointed to a company; but he had studied his profession with the most indefatigable attention, and was not less distinguished by his courage, and with those recommendations returned in 1638 to his country, in that unhappy moment which made it, after a century and half of repose, a field of speculation to military adventurers. On the breaking out of the Scottish rebellion, he obtained, through the interest of his distant kinsman, the Earl of Leicester, and his son, Lord Lisle, the commission of lieutenant-colonel of Lord Newport's regiment, and served with considerable reputation in both the King's expeditions to that country.

Scotland had scarcely assumed a deceitful appearance of tranquillity when the Irish rebellion burst forth. Leicester, a man of lukewarm loyalty, who had been appointed to succeed Strafford in the office of Lord Lieutenant, now sent Monk to Ireland, with the command of his own regiment, and the rank of colonel. He behaved so well in that station, that the Lords Justices, for it does not appear that Leicester ever went to Ireland, nominated him Governor of Dublin; but the long Parliament, having just at that period succeeded in establishing a paramount authority

there, the charge was given to another, and he received orders from the Marquis of Ormonde, who commanded the King's army, to return with it to England. He did so, but with much unwillingness, for he was in fact devoted to the Parliament. Ludlow expressly tells us that "he made some scruple to quit the Irish service, and engage in that against the Parliament in England, and was for that reason secured on board a ship while the forces were embarking, lest he should have obstructed their going over;" and we find that, on his landing at Bristol, he was met by orders both from Ireland and from Oxford, where the King then was, depriving him of his regiment, and directing Lord Hawley, the Governor, to restrain his person. That nobleman, however, permitted him to go on his parole to Oxford, where he excused himself so plausibly to Lord Digby, the Secretary of State, that the King was induced again to accept his offers of service, and gave him the commission of major-general in a corps called the Irish brigade, then besieging Namptwich, in Cheshire, under the command of Lord Byron.

He arrived at that place almost in the moment that Fairfax had brought up a strong body of the rebel forces to its relief, and was taken prisoner, with his brigade, by that officer, and sent to Hull, and soon after to the Tower of London, where he was chiefly supported by the King's bounty till November, 1646, when his friend, the Lord Lisle, having been appointed Deputy of Ireland by the Parliament, negotiated for his release. Monk now openly abandoned the royal cause, subscribed to the covenant, and accompanied Lisle to that country, where they found the King's friends, headed by the Marquis of Ormonde, so formidable, that, after a considerable time passed in ineffectual endeavours to raise a sufficient opposition, they returned home. He was, however, presently dispatched thither again, invested with the chief command of the rebel force in the north, with which he prosecuted for several months that sort of sanguinary chastisement which too frequently occurs in contests between disciplined troops and

rude insurgents. Whether this was terminated by the superior strength in that part of Ireland of the royalists, or whether he betrayed to them the cause of his new employers, is somewhat uncertain, but that he concluded a treaty with the Irish chieftain, Owen Roe O'Neil, and was censured for that step by the rebel Parliament at home, are undoubted historical facts. On the tenth of August, 1649, the Commons voted that "they did disapprove of what Major General Monk had done, in concluding a peace with the grand and bloody rebel, Owen Roe O'Neil, and did abhor the having anything to do with him therein: yet are easily persuaded that the making the same by the said Major-General was in his judgment for the most advantage of the English interest in that nation, and that he shall not be questioned for the same in time to come." Ludlow, the most cautious, as well as the most honest, writer for the rebel cause, more unequivocally says, "he met with a cold reception from the Parliament, upon suggestion that he had corresponded with the Irish rebels." Be this as it might, it is certain that he remained now for a considerable time unemployed, a fact which the good humour of history has generally attributed to the anger excited in him by a suspicion of his integrity.

Cromwell, however, who was now approaching to the zenith of his power, drew Monk from his retirement. A remarkable similarity of character had produced in them, as far as their nature would permit, a mutual regard and confidence. The military skill, and even the bravery of the one, and they shone equally in both, were marked by the same reserve and moroseness which distinguished the other. Both were great masters of the arts of dissimulation, but Monk was free from that affectation of pious enthusiasm which his leader displayed with so much effect, and indeed it was not necessary to his purposes. In 1650 Cromwell, having been appointed to command the forces sent against the Scots, who had proclaimed Charles the second, gave him a regiment of foot, and the commission of lieutenant-general of the

artillery, and they marched together into Scotland. The victory, if the rout of a panic-struck army may be so called, of the English at Dunbar, was ascribed not less to his previous advice, than to his bravery and good judgment in the field; and his activity in dispersing the numerous bands of irregular troops which still appeared in arms after that decisive battle, crushed, for a time, all hopes for the royal cause in that country. On Cromwell's return he was appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, and prosecuted the war with signal success, but with a sanguinary fury which sullied the lustre of his exploits, and we have a frightful instance of this disposition in his conduct at Dundee, where he put Lumsdaine, the Governor, and eight hundred men, to the sword. An ill state of health obliged him soon afterwards to visit his own country, from whence, after a short stay, he departed again for Scotland, with the appointment of a commissioner for the union of that kingdom with the new English commonwealth, and gained much credit with his party by his address in the accomplishment of that affair.

Monk's services were now transferred to the sea. Soon after the commencement of the Dutch war he was joined to Blake and Deane in the command of the fleet, and shared with them the glory of the victories of the second of June, and the thirty-first of July, 1653. He had gained some nautical experience in the outset of his military life, and his utter fearlessness atoned for what was doubtless deficient in him of that skill so abundantly supplied by his two comrades. One of the first acts, however, of the sole government of Cromwell, who in the following December had thrown off the mask, and assumed the title of Protector, was to make peace with the United Provinces, and Monk, who then lay with the fleet on their coasts, remonstrated with warmth to the Parliament against that measure. Cromwell was displeased, and is said to have entertained doubts of his fidelity, and Monk, who had perhaps been too imperfectly apprised of the true posture of politics at home to enable him, according to his

custom, to regulate his conduct to their complexion, returned, and, in a single closet audience, satisfied the Protector of his perfect devotion. The Scots, anxious to lighten the load of treachery which hung so heavily on their fame, soon after appeared again in arms for the Crown, and he was sent in April, 1654, to reduce them, with an army of which he was appointed commander-in-chief. He was again successful, and the war, if it deserved that name, was terminated by him in less than four months.

He remained there, singly, for nearly a year, ruling, however mildly, by the authority of the sword, when Cromwell appointed seven persons to govern that country, under the denomination of his Council of State for Scotland, and Monk, who was named among them, seems immediately to have assumed, with the tacit consent of his colleagues, the direction of all affairs there. He exercised his power, which was nearly absolute, with remarkable discretion and mildness, and was so affable, which seemed to those who best knew him not well to accord with his nature, towards the leaders of all parties, that Cromwell became jealous of his popularity, and secretly employed various artifices to abate it. Monk's obedience, however, was invariable: he executed with the utmost punctuality all orders that were sent to him; imparted from time to time the minor plots of the loyalists which came to his knowledge; and disclosed to Oliver, with an ostentatious promptitude, a letter, in terms too general to attract suspicion to himself, which he had received from Charles, then at Cologne. Meanwhile he foresaw the downfall of the new and unnatural system by which his country was now ruled, and had probably already determined on taking that part which it fell however to his lot to perform somewhat sooner than he expected. His long absence from the seat of government, for he remained in Scotland for five years, had peculiarly aided him in his endeavours to bring it gradually to maturity. Cromwell during that period watched him with the keenest suspicion, but the caution

and vigilance of the General eluded the possibility of specific accusation. This conflict of cunning seems at last to have assumed the air of a sportive trial of skill between two adepts. Cromwell, shortly before his death, wrote a long letter of business to Monk, with the following postscript:—"There be that tell me that there is a certain sly fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me."

Oliver, however, on his death-bed particularly recommended Monk to his son as a counsellor, of which Richard, on his accession to the usurped sovereignty, immediately apprised him. He answered by an address, full of professions of fidelity, in which he was joined by his officers; and by private letters, in which he advised the New Protector to call a Parliament; to encourage a learned, pious, and moderate ministry in the church; to permit no councils to be held by military men; and to endeavour to make himself master of the army; and he lost no time in proclaiming Richard in Scotland. The poor man endeavoured to follow his directions on all those points, and by so doing completely unhinged the loose remains of an ill-constructed government, which the courage and the talents of Oliver had with difficulty held together. The army, enraged at his attempts to curb their power, and aided by the whole body of the fanatical clergy, forced him to dissolve his new Parliament within five months after it had been elected; and the remains of that which had been last dismissed by Oliver took their places in the House of Commons, in contempt of his authority, and on the mere invitation of the military. Their first acts were to abrogate the office of Protector, and to ordain what they called a Commonwealth, and Monk readily joined in their measures, and subscribed with his officers the engagement required by them against the placing of any single person at the head of the government, but particularly Charles Stuart. This wretched counterfeit of a Parliament was presently after obliged to yield also to the army, which elected a

new body of administration, under the title of a Committee of Safety, the last phantom of expiring rebellion.

While these matters were passing, Monk remained in Scotland, apparently occupied merely in his government of that country, and in his military command there. When he interfered in affairs at home, it was with great wisdom, gravity, and temper, and with a shew of the most perfect disinterestedness, and he never offered his advice unasked. This conduct, in a time when almost all other public characters were deservedly despised for their folly, or hated for their dishonesty, had gained him a mighty popularity. The nation gradually accustomed itself to look to him for relief, with a daily increasing confidence, and to trust at length implicitly to his judgment, and his good intentions, for the means. This disposition in the people was much increased by the treachery of an abortive attempt made by the Committee of Safety to seize his person at his residence at Dalkeith, and to send him to London in a frigate, which lay for that purpose in Leith roads, and the discovery of that plot accelerated the opening of the great scene which he had long meditated. In the mean time he carried on a constant correspondence with the Parliament, which continued to sit, though with scarcely any shadow of authority, and had the address to persuade that body that it was his sincere intention to aid it to his utmost in the establishment of a republic. From his brother, Nicholas Monk, a clergyman, and his brother-in-law, Clarges, who were the instruments of that intercourse, though both were royalists, and more in his confidence than any other men, he concealed his design with equal caution. The Committee of Safety at length sent several regiments against him under Lambert and Fleetwood, and this military motion, which he affected to consider as an act of rebellion against the Parliament, furnished him with a pretext to march to London with his army, professedly for the defence of that body.

He was received with all respect, and with great demonstrations of joy, and the palace of Whitehall was assigned for his resi-

dence. On the sixth of February, 1659, he was introduced with extraordinary ceremonies to the Parliament, where, modestly standing behind a crimson velvet chair which had been placed for him, he amused them with a short speech, thanking God for having made him the instrument of restoring them, acknowledging fully their authority, and warning them equally against the machinations of cavaliers and fanatics. Just at this period, the corporation of London, whether in private concert with Monk, or merely in its inveterate inclination to lend its wisdom to the concerns of the State, protested vehemently against the authority of the House, on the ground of the exclusion of the existing members of the long Parliament. A vote was hastily passed, directing the general to arrest, by military force, the most active of those citizens. He remonstrated against the severity of the measure; received a more peremptory order; and, instead of obeying it, marched his troops, which were entirely devoted to him, into the city, and joined it in its defiance of the House. A great number of that body, as well as the whole of the secluded members, having now discovered the vast extent of his influence, flocked around him at his call. He once more formed, by his own authority, a governing power, which, without wasting time in considering what denomination it should assume, passed some resolutions, the most important of which were for the abrogation of the engagement made in the preceding December, "to be true to the Commonwealth of England, without a King, or a House of Lords;" and for the calling a new Parliament, to meet on the twenty-fifth of April, 1660. It became now clear to all discerning men, that his intention was to restore a kingly authority. The old leaders among the regicides, to avoid its falling into the hands of Charles, whose vengeance they dreaded, determined to offer it to Monk, whom they mortally hated, and used the strongest arguments that they could devise to persuade him, but he positively refused. He still however studiously concealed his sentiments, nor was it till within a few days before the meeting

of the Parliament that he suffered them to be imparted to Charles himself, by Sir John Granville, the first person of the many whom the king had from time to time deputed to him that he had admitted to the slightest communication. The Restoration immediately followed.

Monk received his rewards with the same appearance of modesty and simplicity which had always distinguished him. Charles, immediately upon his landing, invested him with the Order of the Garter, and, within a few days, called him to the Privy Council, and appointed him Master of the Horse, and Commander-in-chief of the Forces. He was soon after made first Commissioner of the Treasury, and created Baron Monk, Earl of Torrington, and Duke of Albemarle. To these honours were added the grant of an estate of inheritance of the annual value of seven thousand pounds, and other pecuniary gifts to a great amount. When he took his seat with the Peers, the Commons, a compliment never before practised, waited on him in a body to the door of that House: indeed the benefit which he had conferred on his country was far beyond the reach of any compensation which dignities and wealth could convey. He was afterwards appointed Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Devonshire and Middlesex, and of the borough of Southwark, and in 1664, the management of the Admiralty was committed to his charge. In the following year he was joined to Prince Rupert in the command of the fleet, and in the spring of 1666 sailed once more against the Dutch, and engaged them in a most severe action, the result of which, though all concur in their testimony to the bravery of the English and their leader, has been very differently reported by party writers. This, if we except his being again placed at the head of the Treasury, on the death of the Earl of Southampton, in May, 1667, was his last public employment. The prodigious activity and fatigue of his life had produced a premature decay in a body naturally of great strength. He became dropsical and asthmatic about that period, and, after many

amendments and relapses, died at the Cockpit, which had been given to him by the King for his residence, on the third of January, 1670-1 ; and was buried with prodigious pomp, at the public charge, in Westminster Abbey.

The narrow limits of a work like this prohibit the possibility of attempting to give any detail of a character in which the principal features were invariable caution and reserve, or to estimate the conduct of one, every public act of whose life, till he had attained to the summit of his grandeur, seemed calculated to excite the most opposite passions and prejudices in the minds of conflicting factions. The consideration of Monk's mysterious singularities seems to have confused not only the general judgement, but even the political prejudices of the two great historical writers of his time, for we might have fairly presumed that he had been long enough a rebel to incur the enmity of Lord Clarendon, and to ensure the good graces of Burnet, and yet Clarendon is his best apologist, and the Bishop the bitterest of his traducers. The former tells us that " when the war broke out in England between the King and the Parliament, Monk fell under some discountenance, upon suspicion of an inclination to the Parliament;" but that it proceeded " from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them;" that, when he soon after openly turned his back on the crown, and accepted from the rebels a command in their army in Ireland, he did it " because he had pleased himself with an opinion that he did not therein serve against the King:" that the warmth afterwards of his fidelity to Cromwell, notwithstanding, was such that " those of his western friends who thought best of him" (meaning of his inclination to loyalty) " thought it to no purpose to make any attempt upon him whilst Cromwell lived;" and yet, that, " as soon as he was dead, Monk was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the King than any other in great authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard." But the most

astonishing of all the noble writer's assertions respecting him is, that " his professions were so sincere, he being throughout his life never suspected of dissimulation, that all men thought him worthy of trust." It may be observed here, but with no view of charging the virtuous Clarendon with an interested partiality, that for many years following the Restoration, a constant friendship and agreement, as well in political as in private life, subsisted between Monk and himself, though Monk in the end joined the Chancellor's enemies.

Burnet loses no opportunity of defaming him. If we are to give credit to that writer, we must believe that Monk, to use the Bishop's own words, had a very small share in accomplishing the Restoration without bloodshed, though he obtained both the praise and the reward: that the only service he did in the prosecution of that great affair was in seizing the proper moment for proposing it to the Parliament: that, if he had died soon after, he might have been more justly admired, because less known, and seen only in one advantageous light; but that he lived long enough to make it known how false a judgment men are apt to put upon outward appearance; that he and his wife were ravenous, and asked and sold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied to them, till he became so useless, that little personal regard could be paid to him; that on the prosecution of the Earl of Argyle, he had sent to Scotland, with an inexcusable baseness, certain private letters which Argyle had written to him during the rebellion, to be used as evidence on that nobleman's trial: that he was the chief adviser of the sale of Dunkirk, and of Charles's unpopular match with the Infanta of Portugal. Burnet's censures are perhaps just; for, if we strip the character of Monk of the different varnishes which have been applied to it, the truth seems to be, that he was little more than a great and fortunate military adventurer, who seldom suffered scruples of conscience to stand in the way of his successes.

Monk possessed, in a decent degree, the talent of literary

composition. "This man," says Lord Orford, "was an author; a light in which he is by no means known, and yet in which he did not want merit. After his death was published by authority, a treatise in his own profession, which he composed while a prisoner in the Tower, called 'Observations upon Military and Political Affairs, written by the most honourable George, Duke of Albemarle,'" &c. It consists of thirty chapters, and was placed by him in the hands of his friend and patron the Viscount Lisle, by whose direction it was published in 1671: several of his letters and speeches have also been printed. He married a person who had lived with him some years in a less reputable way, Ann Clarges, a milliner, the daughter of a blacksmith in Drury-lane, and had by her an only child. "Her brother, T. Clarges," says Aubrey, in his Sketches of the lives of Eminent Men, lately published, "came a ship-board to General Monk, and told him his sister was brought to bed. 'Of what?' said he—'Of a son.'—'Why then,' said he, 'she is my wife.'" She was a woman of masculine character and furious temper, and of considerable powers of mind, and it has been said that Monk had so good an opinion of her understanding, that he often consulted her in great emergencies. She survived her husband but for a few days. Their son, Christopher, who was sixteen years old at the time of his father's death, in whose bed-chamber he had been married, two days before that event, to Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Ogle, inherited, together with the honours, a real estate of the clear annual rent of fifteen thousand pounds, and sixty thousand pounds in money. He died, however, in 1688, in the flower of his age, without issue: the titles became extinct; and the most part of his great fortune, after a tedious suit between his kinsman, John Granville, Earl of Bath, and the Earl, afterwards first Duke, of Montague, who had married his widow, was decreed, by the Lord Keeper Somers, to the Earl of Bath.

Engraved by W. Holl.

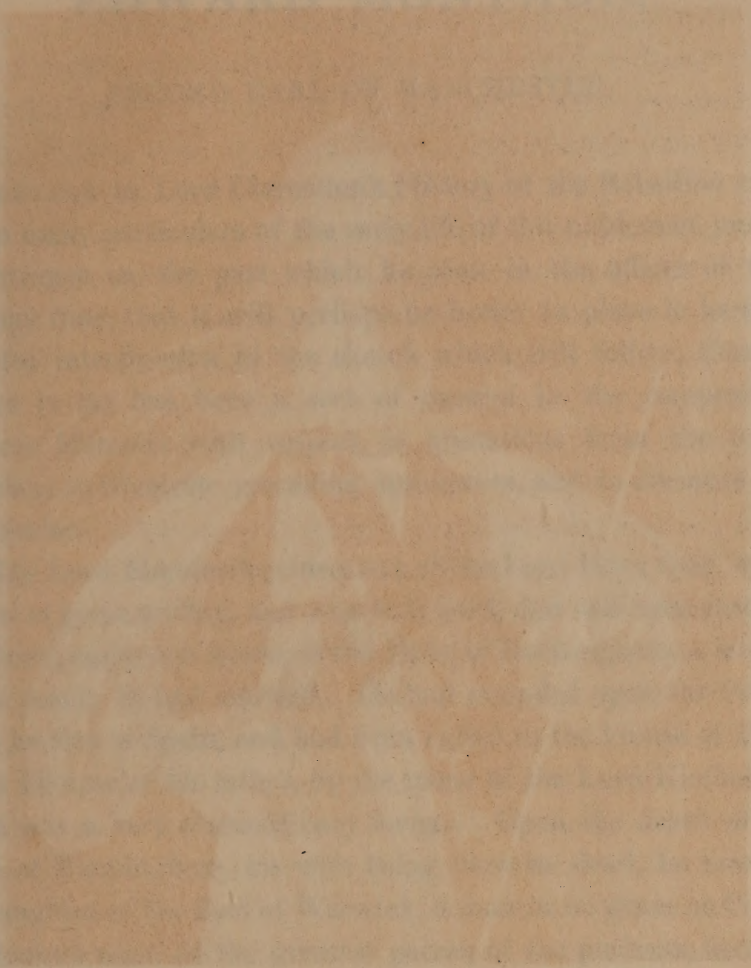
EDWARD MONTAGU, EARL OF MANCHESTER.

OB. 1671.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published Apr. 1, 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



EDWARD MONTAGU,

SECOND EARL OF MANCHESTER.

A PASSAGE in Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion exhibits so many particulars of the early life of this nobleman, and of his entrance on the part which he took in the affairs of that unhappy time, that it will perhaps be better to place it here, as a useful introduction to the sketch which will follow, than to reserve it (as has been a sort of custom in the composition of these Memoirs with respect to quotations from the noble historian) to illustrate preceding statements, and to decorate the termination.

"The Lord Mandevile, eldest son of the Lord Privy Seal, was a person of great civility, and very well bred, and had been early in the Court, under the favour of the Duke of Buckingham, a lady of whose family he had married. He had attended upon the Prince when he was in Spain, and had been called to the House of Peers in the lifetime of his father, by the name of the Lord Kimbolton, which was a very extraordinary favour. Upon the death of the Duke of Buckingham, his wife being likewise dead, he married the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, a man in no grace at Court, and looked upon as the greatest patron of the puritans, because of much the greatest estate of all who favoured them, and so was esteemed by them with great application and veneration, though he was of a life very licentious, and unconformable to their professed rigour, which they rather dispensed with than they would withdraw from a house where they received so eminent a protection, and such notable bounty. Upon this latter marriage the Lord Mandevile totally estranged himself from the Court, and upon all occasions appeared enough to dislike what was done

there, and engaged himself wholly in the conversation of those who were most notoriously of that party, whereof there was a kind of fraternity of many persons of good condition, who chose to live together in one family, at a gentleman's house of a fair fortune, near the place where the Lord Mandevile lived, whither others of that classis likewise resorted, and maintained a joint and mutual correspondence and conversation together, with much familiarity and friendship; that Lord, to support and the better to improve that popularity, living at a much higher rate than the narrow exhibition allowed to him by his wary father could justify, making up the rest by contracting a great debt, which lay heavy upon him; by which generous way of living, and by his natural civility, good manners, and good nature, which flowed towards all men, he was universally acceptable and beloved, and no man more in the confidence of the discontented and factious party than he, and none to whom the whole mass of their designs, as well what remained in chaos as what was formed, was more entirely communicated, and no man more consulted with."

This nobleman, who was born in the year 1602, and whom we find frequently designated, as he is in the above extract, by the title of Lord Mandeville, and, yet more frequently, though not quite correctly, by that of Lord Kimbolton, was the eldest son of an eminent lawyer and statesman, Henry Montagu (who was created a Baron and Viscount by James, and Earl of Manchester by Charles the First) by his first lady, Catherine, daughter to Sir William Spencer, of Yarnton, in Oxfordshire. His education is said to have been much neglected, yet he studied, or was supposed to study, in the university of Cambridge, where we find that he remained till he had taken the degree of Master of Arts, and afterwards, as we have already seen, attended Charles on his remarkable visit to Madrid, and was one of the numerous Knights of the Bath created on the occasion of his presently succeeding Coronation. He was returned to serve in the first Parliament called by that Prince, for the county of Huntingdon, which he

represented also in the three which succcessively followed, when he was summoned to the House of Peers by his father's title of Baron Montagu of Kimbolton. Here he was led by the influence of a family connection to join the discontented party at a period when it was no discredit to belong to it, but seems to have used little activity in its service till it began to lose that character. We first hear of him in any public capacity in 1640, at the treaty with the Scottish rebels at Ripon, for which he was one of the fifteen commissioners, all of whom the King was obliged by the necessity of the time to select from that faction. In the same ineffectual view of conciliation he was very soon after summoned, with several other Peers of the same class, in a body, to the Privy Council. These steps however seemed but to increase his adverse zeal, which was peculiarly manifested in the prosecution of Strafford, though it has since appeared that he condescended at that very time to listen complacently to a proposal made by the King that he should succeed his father in the office of Lord Privy Seal.

But an unhappy circumstance which immediately followed cut off probably all hope of reclaiming him. He was one of the party of six, and the only one of the Upper House, who were, on the fourth of January, 164$\frac{1}{2}$, rashly impeached of high treason. As his conduct on that occasion was in no way distinguished from that of the five members of the Commons, little need be said of it than that he fled with them into the city, and a few days after joined them in their triumphant return to Parliament; but it created much surprise on all hands that he should have been singled out from his compeers, among whom were so many whose guilt was of a dye far deeper; for, says a great historian of the time, after expressing that opinion, " the Lord Kimbolton was a civil and well-natured man, and had rather kept ill company than drank deep of that infection and poison that had wrought upon many others." Whatever might have been the motive for

this proceeding individually against him, the effect of it, joined to that of the incessant recurrence to it, as an act of the most horrible injustice, in the various remonstrances and petitions of the Parliament with which the King was now daily beset, was to drive him into open rebellion. One of the first acts of preparation for war was to appoint him, and the five impeached members of the Commons, severally to the command of Regiments, which they most readily accepted.

His first appearance in this new capacity was in the battle of Edge Hill, where, as his name is not mentioned in any relation of the action, it may be concluded that his regiment was not engaged. On the fourteenth day after it was fought his father died, and he became Earl of Manchester. This event perhaps necessarily withdrew him for a time from the army, but he was not without other engagements which warranted his absence, for, about the middle of the following January, we find him, with others of both Houses, attending, by order of the Parliament, a common hall of the citizens of London, assembled to receive the King's answer to a petition, couched in terms somewhat more decent than were at that time usual, which had been presented to him by the corporation some days before at Oxford. On this occasion he made a speech, which has been preserved, little remarkable but for the anxiety which it betrays to prevent any good effect from the correspondence thus opened between his Majesty and the City.

We hear of him no more in the field till the autumn of 1643, when the Parliament, thrown into some consternation by a short tide of success which had flowed in on the military affairs of the Royalists, as well as by a refractory spirit which had of late appeared in their General, the Earl of Essex, passed an ordinance for the levy of a great army, to be commanded by the Earl of Manchester, and at the same time invested him with the charge of what were called the associated counties, which were Hertford, Essex, Cambridge, Huntington, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincoln.

This disposition excited some surprise in the army, and more in the country. It seemed like a preference of zeal and good temper to military experience, but the event justified their choice, the true ground of which however had been to set up a rival to Essex. Manchester spared neither activity nor money in raising troops: Oliver Cromwell was appointed to command his horse; and the army was ordered to march northwards. This route however was presently altered to the direction towards Norfolk, where the Earl had no sooner arrived than he reduced the town of Lynn, and then, marching into Lincolnshire, engaged at Horncastle the army under the Earl of Newcastle with the most signal success, and afterwards took the town of Lincoln by storm. He now proceeded to join in the siege of York, which soon after surrendered, and had a principal share in the battle of Marston Moor, so fatal to the royal cause; after which, returning westward, and seizing on his way several smaller garrisons in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, he arrived in the neighbourhood of the army under the command of the King in person, in time to be present at the second battle of Newbury, in which he was engaged with his whole force, and with alternate good and ill fortune.

As to the degree of credit due to the sagacious and intrepid Cromwell on the score of these important successes we will not enquire, thus much however is certain; that immediately after the battle of Newbury he manifested the greatest possible discontent, and that a similar disposition, almost simultaneously, and doubtless prompted by him, broke out in the governing power at Westminster. Cromwell after indulging for a short time in indistinct murmurs, determined to make the Earl the subject of a specific criminal charge, and this was the first feature developed of the vast plan in the fruition of which that extraordinary person became master of the three kingdoms. Take it in the words of Lord Clarendon, always authentic, and in this instance concise. Those who may be desirous of a more full statement on this singular subject, mostly extracted from the reports of republican

writers, will find it in a work which rarely deals in matters of any curiosity, Collins's Peerage.

" Cromwell," says Lord Clarendon, " accused the Earl of Manchester of having betrayed the Parliament out of cowardice, for that he might, at the King's last being at Newbury, when he drew off his cannon, very easily have defeated his whole army if he would have permitted it to have been engaged. That he went to him, and shewed him evidently how it might be done, and desired him that he would give him leave, with his own brigade of Horse, to charge the King's army in their retreat; and the Earl, with the rest of his army, might look on, and do as he should think fit; but that the Earl had, notwithstanding all importunity used by him and other officers, positively and obstinately refused to permit him, giving no other reason but that, he said, if they did engage, and overthrow the King's army, the King would always have another army to keep up the war; but if that army which he commanded should be overthrown before the other, under the Earl of Essex, should be reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences, and they should be all rebels and traitors, and forfeited and executed by the law."

The Earl justified himself at great length, and, seemingly consoled by the tacit forbearance of the Parliament to enter into any examination of the charge, bore the cruel insult that he had received with great philosophy. He was deprived of his command in 1645 by " the self denying ordinance," and afterwards accepted the office of Speaker of the small remnant of the House of Lords, which he abandoned in the summer of 1647; put himself under the protection of the army which Cromwell had encamped on Hounslow Heath, to be in readiness to possess him of the government; and submitted to be led back, and replaced in the chair, by his hand. We hear no more of him during the usurpation, except that he was base enough to sit among the Peers of Cromwell's new contrivance. History surely cannot furnish a parallel instance of nearly perfect dereliction of all that

we ought to esteem noble and generous. A single degradation yet remained. He seized on it, and descended to the utmost—— when the Restoration approached he was among the first who presented themselves to the councils which were held to accomplish it. He was a man too powerful to be rejected, and indeed rendered on that great occasion important services, which were most amply rewarded. Charles the Second called him to the Privy Council, appointed him Lord High Chamberlain, and gave him the Order of the Garter; he was restored to the office of Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, which he had before held for a while during the rebellion, and, on the meeting of Parliament, he was constituted first Commissioner of the Great Seal, and Speaker of the House of Peers, in which character he addressed a congratulatory oration to the King on his arrival at Whitehall.

Edward, Earl of Manchester, died on the fifth of May, 1671. He had been no less than five times married; first to Susannah, daughter of John Hill, of Honiley, in Warwickshire, who died shortly after, without issue; secondly, to Anne, daughter of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, by whom he had Robert, who succeeded to his titles and estates, and two daughters; Frances, married to Henry, son and heir of Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln; and Anne, to her kinsman Robert Rich, first Earl of Warwick and Holland; his third Lady was Essex, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheek, of Pyrgo, in Essex, and relict of Sir Robert Bevil, who brought him six sons; Edward; Henry; Charles; Thomas; Sidney; and George; and two daughters; Essex, wife to Henry Ingram, Viscount Irwin; and Lucy. He married, fourthly, Eleanor, daughter of Sir Richard Wortley, of Wortley, in Yorkshire, Bart., and widow of Sir Henry Lee, of Quarendon, in Bucks, Bart.; and, fifthly, Margaret, daughter of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, of the Russels, and widow of James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle, of his family. He had no issue by either of his two last Countesses.

Engraved by P. Lightfoot.

ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF YORK.

OB. 1671.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR P. LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^T HON^BLE THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

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rity. "When his sister, the Princess Royal," says he, "came to Paris, to see the Queen Mother, the Duke of York fell in love with Mrs. Anne Hyde, one of her maids of honour. Beside her person, she had all the qualities proper to inflame a heart less apt to take fire than his; which she managed so well, as to bring his passion to such a height, as between the time he first saw her, and the winter before the King's restoration, he resolved to marry none but her, and promised her to do it; and though at first, when the Duke asked the King, his brother, for his leave, he refused, and dissuaded him from it, yet at last he opposed it no more, and the Duke married her privately; owned it some time after; and was ever after a true friend to the Chancellor." He says, in another place, that "her want of birth was made up by endowments, and her carriage afterwards became her dignity."

Lord Clarendon, in his own life, naturally enough enlarges widely on a subject so important and so dear to him. He tells us that James disclosed the fact of his private marriage to the King immediately after the restoration; informed him that the Duchess was with child; and besought his brother to suffer him to marry her publicly. Charles, whose indolent good temper nothing could ruffle, listened patiently, and even kindly, to the news, and sent the Marquis of Ormond, and the Earl of Southampton, two of the Chancellor's dearest friends, to break the matter to him; for he declares, and his veracity has never been doubted, that he had not the smallest suspicion of it. The temper in which he received it will best appear from his own words—"He broke out into immoderate passion against his daughter; and said, with all imaginable earnestness, that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of his house, as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never see her again." And, on their assuring him that she was married to the Duke, he fell into yet greater passion, and exclaimed that "he had rather his daughter should be the Duke's whore than his wife: that, in the former case, no one could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was

not obliged to keep a whore for the greatest prince alive, and the indignity to himself he would submit to the good pleasure of God; but, if there were any reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judgment, in which he hoped the King would concur with him—that the King should immediately cause the woman to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard that no person living should be admitted to come to her; and that then an act of parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head; to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man that should propose it: and whoever knew the man, concludes the Chancellor, still speaking of himself, will believe that he said all this very heartily." Bishop Burnet, who detested James, and whose word should always be taken with caution where his passions were concerned, says, rather obscurely, that "she, being with child, called on the Duke to own the marriage, and managed the matter with so much address, that in conclusion he married her, and that he thought to have shaken her from claiming it by great promises, and as great threatenings, but she was a woman of great spirit, and would have it known that she was so, let him use her afterwards as he pleased."

Charles, who certainly had a great affection for his brother, and perhaps little less for the Chancellor, so far from testifying any displeasure, amiably placed himself as a mediator among the parties; but new difficulties presently arose, which even his power could not compose. The Queen Mother, enraged to the utmost, wrote to him from Paris, to inform him that she should instantly set out for England, to do all she could to prevent such a dishonour to the crown. She came, and James, whose conduct in his trying situation seems, in spite of the report of Burnet, to have hitherto been equally firm and honourable, was weak enough to deny his marriage to his mother. In the mean time a party in the duke's family, headed by Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth, a man whose heroic exit afterwards somewhat atoned for a vile life,

availed themselves of these dissensions, in the hope of working the downfall of the Chancellor. Their envy and malice had been raised to the highest pitch, by new favours lately conferred on him by the King; for Charles, eager to testify his determination to protect his old and faithful servant, had created him a Baron, and added to that dignity a grant of twenty thousand pounds, in the midst of the confusion occasioned at court by the disclosure of the marriage. They contrived to convey indirectly to James the most injurious reports of the Duchess's conduct previously to her union with him; and he, having easily discovered the authors, resolved to examine them personally. The detail of his intercourse with them, and its consequences, is to be met with only in the Memoires de Grammont, and is given with an ease and vivacity which will render any apology unnecessary, either for quoting the very words of the original, or for the length of the extract.

"Au milieu de ces différentes agitations il s'ouvrit à Milord Falmouth, et le consulta sur le parti qu'il devoit prendre. Il ne pouvoit mieux s'addresser pour ses intérêts, ni plus mal pour Mademoiselle Hyde. Falmouth lui soûtint d'abord, non seulement qu'il n'étoit pas marié, mais qu'il étoit impossible qu'il y eut jamais songé: qu'un mariage étoit nul pour lui sans le consentement du Roi, quand même le parti se fût trouvé d'ailleurs sortable; mais que c'étoit une mocquerie de mettre en jeu la fille d'un petit avocat, que la faveur du Roi venoit de faire Pair du royaume sans noblesse, et Chancelier sans capacité: qu'à l'égard de ses scrupules il n'avoit qu'à vouloir bien écouter des gens qui l'instruiroient à fond de la conduite que Mademoiselle Hyde avoit tenue avant qu'il la connût, et que pourvû qu'il ne leur dit point que la chose fût déjà faite, il auroit bien tôt de quoi le determiner. Le Duc d'York y consentit, et Milord Falmouth, ayant assemblé son conseil et ses temoins, les mena dans le cabinet de son Altesse, après les avoir instruits de ce qu'on leur vouloit. Ces messieurs étoient le Comte d'Arran, Germain, Talbot, et Killigrew, tous gens d'honneur, mais qui préféroient infiniment celui du Duc d'York à

celui de Mademoiselle Hyde, et qui de plus étoient révoltés, avec toute la cour, contre l'insolente autorité du premier ministre.

" Le Duc leur ayant dit, après une espèce de préambule, que quoiqu'ils n'ignorassent pas sa tendresse pour Mademoiselle Hyde ils pouvoient ignorer à quels engagemens cette tendresse l'avoit porté : qu'il se croyoit obligé de tenir toutes les paroles qu'il avoit pû lui donner ; mais que comme l'innocence des personnes de son âge étoit exposée d'ordinaire aux médisances d'une cour, et que de certains bruits, faux ou veritables, s'étoient répandus au sujet de sa conduite, il les prioit comme amis, et leur ordonnoit par tout ce qu'ils lui devoient, de lui dire sincèrement ce qu'ils en savoient, d'autant qu'il étoit résolu de régler sur leurs témoignages les desseins qu'il avoit pour elle. On se fit un peu tirer l'oreille d'abord, et l'on fit semblant de n'ôser prononcer sur une matière si sérieuse et si délicate ; mais le Duc d'York ayant réitéré ses instances chacun se mit à deduire par le menu ce qu'il savoit, et peut-être ce qu'il ne savoit pas, de la pauvre Hyde. On y joignit toutes les circonstances qu'il falloit pour appuyer les temoignages. Par exemple, le Comte d'Arran, qui parla le premier, déposa que dans la galerie de Honslaerdyk, où la Comtesse d'Ossory, sa belle sœur, et Germain, jouoient un jour aux quilles, Mademoiselle Hyde avoit fait semblant de se trouver mal, et s'étoit retirée dans une chambre au bout de la galerie ; que lui, deposant, l'avoit suivie, et que lui ayant coupé son lacet, pour donner plus de vraisemblance aux vapeurs, il avoit fait de son mieux pour la secourir, ou pour la desennuyer. Talbot dit qu'elle lui avoit donné un rendez-vous dans le cabinet du Chancelier, tandis qu'il étoit au Conseil, à telles enseignes que n'ayant pas tant d'attention aux choses qui étoient sur la table ; qu'à celle qui les occupoient alors, ils avoient fait répandre toute l'encre d'une bouteille sur une dépêche de quatre pages ; et que le singe du Roi, qu'on accusoit de ce désordre, en avoit été long tems en disgrace."

" Germain indiqua plusieurs endroits où il avoit eu des audiences longues et favorables : cependant tous ces chefs d'accu-

sation ne vouloient que sur quelques tendres privautés, ou tout au plus, sur ce qu'on appelle les menus plaisirs d'un commerce ; mais Killigrew, voulant rencherir sur ces foibles dépositions, dit tout net qu'il avoit eu l'honneur de ses bonnes graces. Il avoit l'esprit vif et badin, et savoit donner un tour agréable à ses récits par des figures gracieuses et sensibles. Il assura qu'il avoit trouvé l'heure du berger dans un certain cabinet construit au-dessus de l'eau à toute autre fin que d'être favorable aux empressemens amoureux ; qu'il avoit eu pour témoins de son bonheur trois ou quatre cygnes, qui pouvoient bien avoir été témoins du bonheur de bien d'autres dans ce même cabinet, vû qu'elle y alloit souvent, et qu'elle s'y plaisoit fort.

" Le Duc d'York trouva cette dernière accusation outrée, persuadé qu'il avoit par devers lui des preuves suffisantes du contraire. Il remercia messieurs les témoins à bonne fortune de leur franchise ; leur imposa silence à l'avenir sur ce qu'ils venoient de lui declarer ; et passa dans l'appartement du Roi. Dès qu'il fut dans son cabinet Milord Falmouth, qui l'avoit suivi, conta ce qui venoit de se passer au Comte d'Ossory, qu'il trouva chez le Roy. Ils se doutèrent bien de ce qui faisoit la conversation des deux frères, car elle fut longue. Le Duc d'York en sortant parut tellement ému qu'ils ne doutèrent point que tout n'allat mal pour la pauvre Hyde. Milord Falmouth commençoit à s'attendrir de sa grace, et se repentoit un peu de la part qu'il y avoit eue, lorsque le Duc d'York lui dit de se trouver, avec le Comte d'Ossory, chez le Chancelier dans une heure."

" Ils furent un peu surpris qu'il eût la dureté d'annoncer lui-même cette accablante nouvelle. Ils trouvèrent à l'heure marquée son Altesse dans la chambre de Mademoiselle Hyde. Ses yeux paroissoient mouillés de quelques larmes, qu'elle s'efforçoit de retenir. Le Chancelier, appuyé contre la muraille, leur parut bouffi de quelque chose. Ils ne doutèrent point que ce fut de rage et de desespoir. Le Duc d'York leur dit, de cet air content et serein dont on annonce les bonnes nouvelles—" Comme vous

êtes les deux hommes de la cour que j'estime du plus, je veux que vous ayez les premiers l'honneur de saluer la Duchesse d'York— la voilà."

"La surprise ne servoit de rien, et l'étonnement n'étoit pas de saison dans cette conjoncture. Ils en étoient pourtant si remplis que pour s'en cacher ils se jetèrent promptement à genoux, pour baiser la main, qu'elle leur tendit avec autant de grandeur et de majesté que si de sa vie elle n'eût fait autre chose."

Lord Clarendon informs us that Falmouth afterwards confessed fully to James the falsehood of all the charges which had been thus made by himself and his conspirators, and received the Duke's pardon. From that ill-judged lenity perhaps, as well as from the slander itself, other gallantries were subsequently ascribed to the Duchess. Grammont, an elegant profligate, living in the most profligate court in Europe, speaks largely of a supposed intrigue with Sidney, a younger son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and a gentleman of the Duke's bedchamber, and tells us that she went to York in 1664, that she might receive his addresses with the more convenience and privacy; and Burnet adds, that the Duke discovered the amour, and dismissed Sidney with such precipitation and anger that the whole became entirely public; but a passage in Sir John Reresby's Memoirs tends greatly to invalidate these reports, and indeed expressly contradicts one of them. "His Royal Highness the Duke, and his Duchess," says Reresby, whose candour is invariable, "came down to York in August, where it was observed that Mr. Sidney, the handsomest youth of his time, and of the Duke's bedchamber, was greatly in love with the Duchess; and indeed he might be well excused, for the Duchess, daughter to Chancellor Hyde, was a very handsome personage, and a woman of fine wit. The Duchess, on her part, seemed kind to him, but very innocently; but he had the misfortune to be banished the court afterwards, for another reason, as was reported." Burnet, however, who seems to have delighted in drawing false conclusions from false premises, makes

use of this rumour to introduce a long paragraph of disgusting scandal against James, whose debaucheries, he tells us, shortened the lives of the Duchess, and of most of her children, and poisoned the constitutions of the two who survived infancy; and, not contented with this, affects to trace the venom to its very source, by minutely relating the circumstances of a filthy tale, which may be found in his memoirs of the year 1665. He tells us also, with equal improbability, that the Duchess, through the discovery of her amour with Sidney, lost the influence which she had over her husband, and that, in the hope of regaining it by flattering his religious prejudices, she determined to embrace the Roman Catholic profession; and this brings us to one of the most important points of her story.

She had been bred a Protestant, with much strictness, and had always the reputation of a perfect sincerity in that persuasion; but it was observed for many months before her death that she had not, as usual, received the Sacrament, and that she frequently apologized in conversation for many of those doctrines of the Romish Church which are the most strenuously opposed by the Church of England. At length, on the twentieth of August, 1670, she signed, and, as it should seem, in a great measure published, a paper declaring her reconciliation to the ancient religion, in terms so frank and simple, and with so little force or subtlety of argument, as to render it evident that they had been dictated by her own private prejudices, and secretly composed by her own pen. She begins, to use nearly her own words, by calling God to witness that no person, man or woman, directly nor indirectly, had ever said any thing to her since she came into England, or used the least endeavour to make her change her religion; but that it was a blessing she owed wholly to Almighty God, and to her earnest and constant prayers that she might before she died be in the true religion. That she had entertained no scruples till the preceding November, when, chancing to peruse Dr. Heylin's History of the Reformation, which had been much recommended

to her, she found it to contain what seemed to her to be the most horrible sacrileges imaginable, and could find no reason why we left that Church, but three most abominable ones. First, that Henry the Eighth renounced the Pope's authority because he would not give him leave to part with his wife, and marry another in her lifetime; secondly, because Edward the Sixth was a child, and governed by his uncle, who made his estate out of church lands; and, thirdly, because Elizabeth, who was no lawful heiress to the Crown, could have no way to keep it but by renouncing a church that would never suffer so unlawful a thing to be done by one of her children. "I confess," says she, "I cannot think the Holy Ghost to be in such councils." After some wretched reasoning on transubstantiation, the infallibility of the church, confession, and praying for the dead, she concludes thus: "I am not able, nor if I were, would I enter into disputes with any body. I only, in short, say this for the changing of my religion, which I take God to witness I never would have done if I had thought it possible to save my soul otherwise. I think I need not say it is any interest in this world that leads me to it. It will be plain enough to every body that I must lose all the friends and credit I have here by it; and I have very well weighed which I could best part with, my share in this world, or the next. I thank God I have found no difficulty in the choice."

It has been the fashion of the writers of that time to assert that this lady's abandonment of the Protestant religion was the work of incessant persuasions and threats. It would be absurd to suppose that the approbation, nay the endeavours, of a husband so bigotted as James had been wholly wanting; but there can be little doubt that the change arose chiefly from her own conscientious inclination. Her father, who had been for some time disgraced, and was then living in exile, regretted this dereliction perhaps more keenly than any of his own misfortunes, and wrote on it to her, and to the Duke, the most earnest expostulations, which however did not arrive till after her death.

The Duchess's constitution had been long declining. She is said to have been very indolent, and a great eater, but there is reason to believe that her end was hastened by domestic anxiety. James was a notoriously unfaithful, and probably negligent, husband; and the reputation of patience with which she seemed to endure those afflictions was in fact due to the stifled anger of a proud spirit, any active exertion of which might have been worse than useless. Bishop Kennet tells us, that "after a growing corpulency, she fell into a long indisposition, and died." Burnet says, that "a long decay of health came at last to a quicker crisis than had been apprehended, and that she fell on a sudden into the pains of death." He adds, that Blandford, Bishop of Worcester, was sent for, to perform the usual offices of the church on such occasions, but that "the Queen being present, he went no further than to say that he hoped she continued in the truth: upon which she asked 'What is truth?' and, her agony increasing, she repeated the word truth, truth, many times, and in a few minutes after died, very little beloved or lamented, for her haughtiness had raised her many enemies." In another part of his uncharitable memoirs he gives her a high character, still however with that qualification which it really seems to have required. "The Duchess of York," says he, "was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively sense of things. She soon understood what belonged to a Princess, and took state on her rather too much. She writ well, and had begun the Duke's life, of which she shewed me a volume, which was all taken from his own journal. She was generous and friendly, but too severe an enemy."

She died at St. James's Palace, between three and four in the afternoon, on the thirty-first of March, 1671, in the thirty-fourth year of her age, and was buried, as had been all those of her children who died before her, in the vault of Mary Queen of Scots, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. Of her numerous progeny by the unhappy James none reached maturity except the Queens,

Mary the second, and Anne, her successor. The rest were, Charles, who was born on the twenty-second of October, 1660, and died at Whitehall, on the fifth of May in the following year, while a patent was preparing, to create him Duke and Earl of Cambridge; James, born on the twelfth of July, 1663, who was created Baron of Dauntsey, in Wilts, and Duke and Earl of Cambridge, and invested with the order of the Garter, but died on the twentieth of June, 1666; Charles, born on the fourth of July, in that year, and created Duke of Kendal, who died on the twenty-second of the following May; Edgar, born September, the fourteenth, 1667, and also created Duke of Cambridge, but died on the eighth of June, 1671; Henrietta, born on the thirteenth of January, 1668, and died November the fifteenth, 1669; and Catherine, born February the ninth, 1670, who died on the fifth of December, 1671. Burnet, in whom it might have been becoming enough to ascribe the hard and untimely fate of James's line to an interposition of Providence for the protection of the Church of England, has, in his inveterate malice to that Prince, thought fit to place it to another account, to which I have before alluded.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

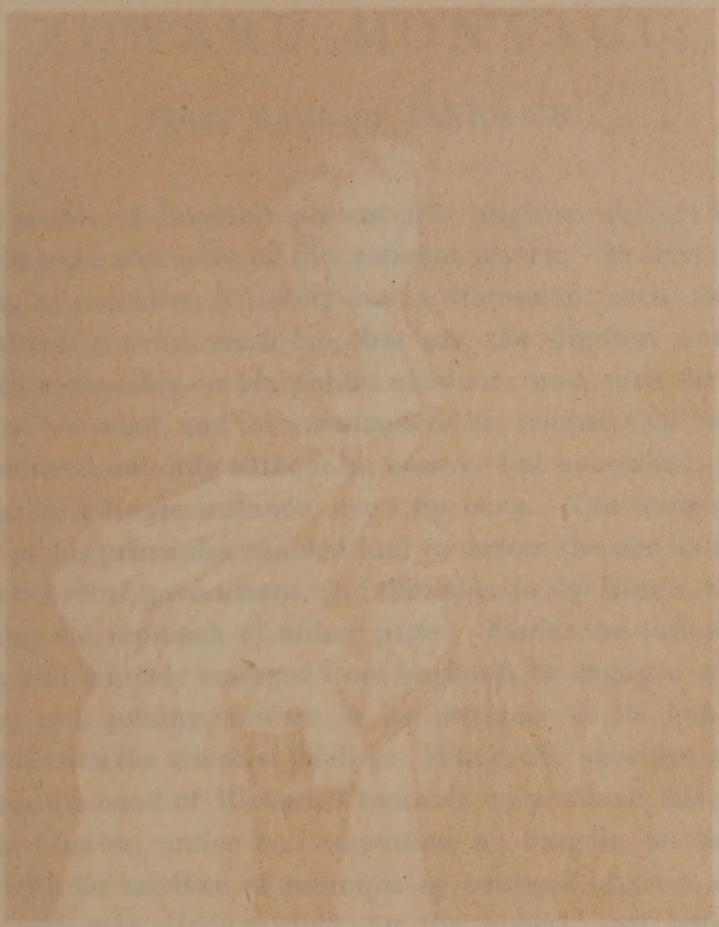
EDWARD MONTAGU, EARL OF SANDWICH.

OB. 1672.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE COUNTESS OF SANDWICH.

London, Published May 1 1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



EDWARD MONTAGU,

FIRST EARL OF SANDWICH.

The annals of England present few brighter objects to our view than the character of this eminent person. In thirty years' service, as a soldier, a sailor, and a statesman, such were his uprightness and his prudence, that not the slightest suspicion ever fell reasonably on his public conduct; and such the generosity of his mind, and the sweetness of his temper, that he seems to have lived not only without an enemy, but unassailed, except perhaps in a single instance, even by envy. The transcendent purity of his principles enabled him to devote the one half of his life to the rebel government, and the other to the King's, without incurring the reproach of either party. Under the influence of others, and scarcely emerged from boyhood, he engaged with the former, and, joining neither in its intrigues or its hypocrisy, served it with the simplest fidelity: When the spurious sceptre fell from the hand of Richard Cromwell, he proffered his allegiance to Charles, under no temptation or bargain on the one hand, with no sacrifice of principle or betrayal of trust on the other, and was distinguished by the honest zeal which he uniformly displayed in the service of the crown.

He was the only son of Sir Sidney Montagu, sixth and youngest brother of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton, by Paulina, third daughter of John Pepys, of Cottenham, in the county of Cambridge, and was born on the twenty-seventh of July, 1625. His father had passed his life in the household service of James and Charles the first; was earnestly attached to their family and to Monarchy; and although he had in the beginning of the discontents moderately espoused the popular party in the House of

Commons, had been expelled the Long Parliament for refusing to take the absurd oath by which a great majority of its members bound themselves, on the appointment of the Earl of Essex to the command of the rebel army, " to live and die with him." It may be reasonable to presume that the son had received strong impressions of loyalty from such a parent, and so probably he had, when they were presently obliterated by his marriage, at the age of seventeen, to Jemima, daughter of John, Lord Crewe, a nobleman deeply infected by the political schism of the time. Their union took place on the seventh of November, 1642, and the death of his father, not many months after, left him wholly under the influence of this new connection, and completed his estrangement from the royal party.

The young proselyte was not long unemployed. He received in August, 1643, a commission from the Parliament to raise a regiment of a thousand men in Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, and to take the command of it with the title of Colonel. It is probable that he owed this early distinction to Cromwell, who was his neighbour in the country, and with whom it is certain that he then, or soon after, formed a personal friendship, warm at least on his part, to which his lasting attachment to the rebel cause seems to have been solely owing. His levies were speedily made, and we find him at the head of his corps, with the troops which stormed Lincoln, on the sixth of May, 1644 ; in the battle of Marston Moor on the second of the succeeding July ; and, in the same month, with the army which then besieged York, where he was appointed one of the Commissioners to receive the capitulation of that city. In the following summer he commanded his regiment at the battle of Naseby, and, a few weeks after, at the siege of Bridgewater ; and conducted himself in these several services with so much prudence, as well as bravery, that he was intrusted in the beginning of September, 1645, to lead a brigade of four regiments at the important siege of Bristol, on the surrender of which, in the course of that month, he was dispatched

by Fairfax and Cromwell to communicate the news to the Parliament.

He had succeeded to his father in the representation of the county of Huntingdon in the House of Commons, and some of his biographers have extolled the public spirit which they say induced him to absent himself from that assembly after it fell under the dominion of the army in June, 1647. He did so, but probably from the mere carelessness of youth, and, it may be presumed, with the approbation of Cromwell, to whom his adherence continued firm. He was besides too young for any but the military purposes of his crafty friend, and the war had now ceased. We lose sight of him therefore for more than five years following that period, when the usurper, on assuming the sovereignty, under the title of Protector, nominated him of the supreme council of fifteen, ordained by the instrument of government provided on that occasion, and shortly after appointed him a Commissioner of the Treasury, and joined him to Desborough, another soldier, for the execution of the office of High Admiral. He now applied himself incessantly to the theory of naval tactics, and with such success that, in the spring of 1656, Cromwell associated him with the gallant Blake, in the command of a fleet, destined to serve in the Mediterranean against the Spaniards, in which expedition however little was done beyond the capture of some plate ships in the road of Cadiz. Blake died during this service, and in July, 1657, Montagu was appointed Admiral of the Fleet in the Downs, equipped, as Lord Clarendon tells us, "under the pretence of mediating in the Sound between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, but in truth to hinder the Dutch from assisting the Dane against the Swede, with whom Oliver was engaged in an inseparable alliance." On this occasion Cromwell secretly designed to use his diplomatic, as well as his warlike services. The political talents manifested by him in the Council had not escaped the acuteness of the usurper, to whom too he had of late peculiarly endeared himself by the singular earnestness with which he had

argued, not only publicly, but in his private intercourse with Cromwell, for the proposal made to him by his Parliament to assume the title of King. It is said that Montagu was always, to use the strong expression which Lord Clarendon applies to him, even "in love with Monarchy;" but in this instance, it must be confessed that, with the common infirmity of ardent lovers, he was blind to the imperfections of the individual object of his affection.

He was with his Fleet, in the Baltic, when Cromwell died. Richard renewed his appointment, and wrote to him, directing him "in all cases, but more particularly in such as might concern the honour of the Flag, rather to use his own discretion than to consider himself bound by the tenor of his orders." On Richard's dismissal however from the government, which presently followed, and the assumption of it by his mongrel Parliament, he found a strange reverse. He was already far engaged in negotiation with the northern powers, when that assembly issued a new commission, by which they joined with him three of their confidential friends, with the style of plenipotentiaries Dissentions presently arose among them. One of the party was Algernon Sidney, a cynic in morals, manners, and politics, with whom no man could long agree. To add to his vexation, the Parliament at the same time gave the command of his regiment of Horse to another. At this period, Edward Montagu, his cousin, heir to the Lord Montagu of Boughton, a zealous partisan for the excluded Charles, and one of the companions of his flight, disclosed to him the plans which were then ripening in England for the restoration of that prince. He adopted them without hesitation, and, after a brief communication, by a trusty messenger, with the King, suddenly set sail for England, leaving his brother plenipotentiaries at Copenhagen. When he arrived however on the coast, he had the mortification to find that the military insurrection, on which the royalists had built their hopes, had wholly failed, and that the leader, Sir George Booth, was a prisoner in the Tower. Montagu

however boldly presented himself to the Parliament, amidst much clamour; alledged that he had been compelled to return by shortness of provisions; and produced a minute of the concurrence of his flag officers to that effect. He then resigned his command, and the Parliament, abundantly occupied with other causes, which began to threaten its very existence, agreed to defer any further examination of his matter till the coming of the other three commissioners. He was suffered therefore, says Lord Clarendon, "to go quietly into the country, and remained, neglected and forgotten, till they could be more at leisure (for it was then about the time they grew jealous of Lambert) till those revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invasion upon the Parliament, and General Monck's march into England; and till near the time that the name and title of that Parliament was wholly abolished and extinguished; and then the secluded members, being restored, called him to resume the command of the Fleet."

Monck, as a compliment to that General, was joined with him in this command, which was not confined, as might be inferred from the terms used by Clarendon, to the fleet which he had left in the Baltic, but extended to the entire navy. It was in fact what would have been termed in times of regular government a commission for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England. Montagu, to prove the sincerity of his professions, sent privately to request, and it is needless to say obtained, the King's ratification of the appointment; and Lawson, a celebrated seamen, but an anabaptist republican, to whom the authority of that station had been entrusted, and who had filled the fleet with persons of his own persuasion, consented, without a murmur, to serve under him. The Restoration, to be complete, now waited only for forms to which Montagu's impatience could not submit. He set sail to the coast of Holland without orders from the Parliament, to the great offence of many members of that body, leaving only two or three of the smaller ships, to convey those who were appointed to

wait on the King with a regular invitation. On his arrival, he surrendered his command to the Duke of York, who was appointed High Admiral; and, a few days after, received Charles on board his own ship, and on the twenty-sixth of May, 1660, landed him triumphantly at Dover. The King, while on his road to London, sent Sir Edward Walker to the Downs, to invest him with the Ensigns of the Garter, and on the twelfth of the following July, advanced him to the Peerage by the titles of Baron Montagu of St. Neots, Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Earl of Sandwich. Nearly at the same time, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Admiral of the Narrow Seas, Vice Admiral of England, and Master of the King's Wardrobe.

In June, 1661, he sailed on an expedition against the piratical states of Barbary, and made a gallant but unsuccessful attack on Algiers, from whence he retired, leaving Lawson, with a force sufficient to block up that port, and visited Tangier, a city on the same coast, which it will be recollected formed the main part of the marriage portion of Catherine of Braganza, and of which he now took formal possession in the name of his master. Having placed an English garrison there, under the command of the Earl of Peterborough, he proceeded to Lisbon, where, having officiated as proxy for Charles in the ceremony of espousing that Lady, she embarked on board his ship, and, on the fourteenth of May, 1662, he presented her at Portsmouth to the King, her husband. Two years of peace succeeded, when, in 1664, on the resolution for a war with the Dutch, the commencement of which was so long deferred, he took the command of a fleet of observation, which was no otherwise employed till the month of March, in the following year, when, the war being declared, he was appointed to lead the blue squadron, under the Duke of York, who now personally acted as High Admiral. The opening of the campaign was eminently successful. Nearly two hundred rich merchantmen fell into the hands of the English, and, on the third of June, a general engagement occurred, in which eighteen of the

finest ships of war in the Dutch service were captured, and fourteen destroyed, in one of which was blown up Opdam, the commander of their Fleet. In this action Sandwich practiced, perhaps for the first time, the bold expedient, a repetition of which in our day has justly acquired so much credit, of breaking the enemy's line, which accelerated a victory that his skill and bravery had before rendered inevitable.

The Fleet now returned to England to refit, and, the Duke having relinquished the command to Sandwich, he sailed from Torbay in the beginning of July for the Texel, where finding that it would be long before the enemy's fleet could again put to sea, he steered northward, with the double view of intercepting a squadron, under the celebrated de Ruyter, on its return from Newfoundland, and of falling in with the Turkey and East India Fleets, which were said to have anchored for a while at Bergen. Neither of these enterprizes succeeded: de Ruyter passed the English, under cover of a fog, with the loss only of eight ships of war, and arrived safely in Holland, and the usual vigour of the Earl is said to have been restrained at Bergen by his doubts on the actual state of a negotiation which he knew to be in progress between Charles and the King of Denmark. He captured however a great number of rich merchant ships, and received on his return abundant proofs that this partial miscarriage had not impaired his reputation in the opinion either of the King or the people: yet in that moment the keenest vexation that he had ever suffered was closely impending. On his voyage homeward, his flag officers had besought him to distribute among them some part of the merchandize which had been taken, to which he consented, all parties seeming to have forgotten, as probably they really had, the Admiralty rule that bulk, as it is called, of any captured ship shall not be broken till it be brought into port, and adjudged to be lawful prize. Sandwich had however the precaution to apply for the King's approbation, which he obtained, but

he had put the measure into execution before it arrived, having given to each officer goods estimated at one thousand pounds, and taken for himself the value of two thousand.

This act of folly, for it deserved no worse name, was no sooner known than the most furious outcry was raised against him by all who could pretend to take an interest in the affair. Monck, who was at the head of the Admiralty, and had long regarded him with jealousy, sent unnecessary orders to all the ports to seize the property, and omitted no other indignity which his official authority enabled him to practice: Sir William Coventry, who was the Duke's peculiar confident, used all endeavours to ruin him in the opinion of that Prince, who was already, perhaps with some justice, offended that his Vice Admiral should have presumed to dispense bounties which it belonged to himself only to bestow: the King was displeased that he should have ventured to act on the royal approbation before he had received it, and the more, because he was angry with himself for having granted it: and all the officers of the navy, with the exception of those whom he had intended to gratify, together with the whole body of seamen, complained loudly that a plan had been laid to defraud them of a part of their prize money. At length a rumour was raised of an impeachment in Parliament, and the authors of it, Monck and Coventry, persuaded the King that nothing could prevent such a proceeding but the removal of Sandwich from his command, which was indeed their sole object. The King, on the other hand, whose resentments were never lasting, was anxious to protect him, and disposed of him accordingly without disgrace, appointing him Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Madrid, a mission always highly honourable, and just at this time requiring extraordinary talents, and undoubted fidelity. I have been the more particular in the foregoing relation because all the Earl's biographers, with that absurd and servile tenderness which is in the end almost always more injurious than the plain truth to

the memory of the eminent dead, have thought fit to leave it wholly untold. It is to be found, given most circumstantially, in Lord Clarendon's Life of himself.

Sandwich arrived at Madrid on the twenty-eighth of May, 1666, and was received with distinctions more cordial and magnificent than were then usually allowed to foreign ministers by that cold and ceremonious Court. His conduct in all circumstances proved how highly he merited them. The objects of his mission were to negociate a treaty of commerce with England, and to mediate a peace between Spain and Portugal, a proposal involving points of great difficulty, inevitable in an effort to reconcile a parent state to the independence of a revolted province. They yielded however to his sagacity. Never was embassy more uniformly successful: and he returned, after an absence of two years, which his friends, his enemies, and himself, had considered but as an honourable exile, to renewed royal favour, and increased popularity; with the reputation of a profound statesman ingrafted on that of a brave and prudent commander. Neither this deviation into the character of a public minister, nor the flattering applause which he had acquired in it, could betray his generous mind into any engagement in political party at home. He accepted soon after his return the office of President of the Council of Trade and Plantations, and seems to have confined himself to the performance of the duties which it demanded. He is said to have opposed strenuously in Council the sale of Dunkirk, and to have argued there, with equal warmth, in favour of a strict alliance with Spain, as a counterpoise to the power of Louis the fourteenth, and we find scarcely any other instances of his interference in state affairs.

At length, fatally for himself, he was restored to the naval service, and in the spring of 1672, on the renewal of the Dutch war, again appointed Vice Admiral of the fleet under the Duke of York. They sailed to meet the enemy in the Channel, whom on the nineteenth of May they descried some leagues off the

coast of Suffolk. A thick fog however prevented them from approaching each other for many days, during which the English lay at anchor in Southwold bay, better known as Solebay. On the twenty-eighth, while they were gayly preparing for the celebration of the following day, the anniversary of the Restoration, they were surprised by the Dutch, so suddenly as barely to allow them time to weigh anchor, and to form a very imperfect line. As the battle began and was fought in confusion, not less confused, and even contradictory, are the accounts of it which have been delivered to us. Thus much only is certain—that the Dutch Admiral, Van Ghent, commenced it by attacking the blue squadron, commanded by Sandwich, whose ship gave the first broadside that was fired: that the Earl, after having performed prodigies of valour, disabled many of the enemy's ships, and lost three fourths of his men, was suddenly surrounded by fire-ships; that his Vice Admiral, Jordaine, with his division, basely and disobediently left him at this fearful juncture, to flatter the Duke, who was just then somewhat pressed, by a shew of anxiety to succour him; that Sandwich, having sunk three of the fire-ships, was grappled by a fourth, which set his ship in flames; and that, having stedfastly refused to enter the long-boat, in which many of the survivors were saved, he remained almost alone, and perished.

His body was found several days after, floating on the sea, into which it was evident that he had plunged to avoid the greater corporal misery, as marks of burning were strongly visible on his face and breast. He is said to have received an affront from the High Admiral immediately previous to the action, and to have gone into it therefore with a determination to die. Among others, two eminent historians, however discordant as to another particular which they respectively relate, agree in making that report, as well as in ascribing his fatal resolution to the same motive. Burnett tells us that "the Admiral of the blue squadron was burned by a fire-ship, after a long engagement

with a Dutch ship much inferior to him in strength," and adds " in it the Earl of Sandwich perished, with many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ship, by a piece of obstinate courage to which he was provoked by an indecent reflection the Duke made on an advice he had offered of drawing nearer the shore, and avoiding an engagement, as if in that he took more care of himself than of the King's honour." Bishop Kennet says " the day before there was great jollity and feasting in the English fleet, in the midst of which my Lord of Sandwich was observed to say that, as the wind stood, the fleet rode in danger of being surprised by the Dutch, and therefore thought it adviseable to weigh anchor, and get out to sea. The Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, slighted the advice, and retorted upon the Earl that he spoke this out of fear, which reflection his Lordship is thought to have so far resented as the next day, out of indignation, to have sacrificed his life, which he might have otherwise preserved."

His remains were deposited, with the honours of a public funeral, in Henry the seventh's chapel, in the same vault with those of his competitor, Monck. His character, which has been here but slightly touched on, is given at great length, and with uncommon minuteness, in a manuscript in the French language, which is preserved in the Harleian collection, and exhibits a glowing picture of the perfection of humanity. It is too extensive to be admitted in this place, being in fact a small volume, but the brief description of his person, with which it commences, ought not to be omitted, and it is to be regretted that in a work of this nature such notices cannot be more frequently introduced. " Edouard, Comte de Sanduich," says the manuscript, " est bien fait, de sa personne; l'air doux, heureux, engageant; le visage assez plein; les traits agreables; la couleur vermeille, tirant sur le clair brun; les yeux mediocrement grands, bruns, vifs, penétrans, pleins de feux; la teste belle, et les cheveux naturellement bouclés, et d'un châtain brun; la taille plustost grande que

petite; assez d'embonpoint, mais qui ne com~ensa de l'incommode q'apres son retour de l'ambassade d'Espaigne."

This nobleman had by his lady, already spoken of, six sons; Edward, his successor; Sidney; Oliver; John; Charles; and James; and four daughters; Jemima, married to Sir Philip Carteret; Paulina, who died unmarried; Anne, wife to Sir Richard Edgecumbe, of Mount Edgecumbe, in Devon; and Catherine, married to Nicholas Bacon, of Shrubland Hall, in Suffolk.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

THOMAS, LORD CLIFFORD, OF CHUDLEIGH.

OB. 1673.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE LORD CLIFFORD.

London, Published Feb^y 1, 1825, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

THOMAS, FIRST LORD CLIFFORD

OF CHUDLEIGH.

THERE is no period of English history in which we find it more difficult to estimate correctly the characters of statesmen than the reign of Charles the second. From a court in whose careless and licentious manners nature stood confessed to open view in unblushing nakedness we pass to a cabinet in which the motives to an uncertain policy were shrouded in the darkest obscurity. The last remains of that generous simplicity which shed somewhat of grace and dignity even on the faults of monarchy had perished on the scaffold with the late King, and his successor had been called, suddenly and unexpectedly, to rule by new experiments of government a people at once elated by the discovery of that strength which had enabled them to break the charm of allegiance, stung with disappointment at the failure of their visionary hopes of independence, and secretly prepared to meet with defiance the resentment which they anticipated, because they felt that they had so justly merited it. To correct these different dispositions Charles had recourse alternately to fraud and force; to haughty menaces, and mean condescensions. The characters therefore of his ministers were necessarily as various as the features of his system, if it deserved to be so called: some were chosen for their boldness, some for their powers of deception, others for mere pliability of temper, and a few were actually recommended by the total absence of all moral principle. Clifford, not to mention his talents, which were very powerful, was elevated and ruined by his courage.

Of the splendor and antiquity of his family it is needless to speak. He descended from a junior line which branched off in

the fourteenth century from that which afterwards produced the Earls of Cumberland, and was the eldest of the three sons of Hugh Clifford, of Ugbrook, in Devonshire, a gentleman who had been intrusted with the command of a regiment of foot for the King in the beginning of the rebellion, by Mary, daughter of Sir George Chudleigh, of Ashton, in the same county, Baronet. He was born on the first of August, 1630, and completed his education at Exeter College, in Oxford, where he became a gentleman commoner on the twenty-fifth of May, 1647, and " was accounted," says Wood, " by his contemporaries there a young man of a very unsettled head, or of a roving shattered brain." The fervid and sanguine disposition which drew on him this censure from dull and plodding judgments, enabled him to reap the fruits of study without labour, and he left the University in a state of proficiency which astonished those who had uttered it. He travelled for some time on the continent, and on his return, was entered of the Middle Temple, and studied the law with an assiduity which leaves little room to doubt that he then intended to adopt it as a profession. The ancient affection, however, of his native county to his name and family opened new prospects to him. The borough of Totnes elected him to serve in the Parliament by which Charles the second was restored, and rechose him for the first which was called by that Prince. He was now in his proper sphere of action. The freedom of debate was suited to his natural impatience of controul, and his ambition was soothed by splendid visions of preferment. He possessed all the requisites to establish parliamentary reputation, and exercised them with a freedom and boldness at that time seldom practised. He commenced his career by opposing the measures of government; grew distinguished and formidable; made terms with the King's ministers; and became a most steady advocate for the royal prerogatives. This character on the political theatre was then a novelty.

His affection to monarchy, however, was sincere. The very name of Clifford was an emblem of loyalty, and he had been bred

from his cradle in the strictest habits of implicit obedience to the throne. He now privately engaged himself, in concert with some other members of the House of Commons, to use his most strenuous endeavours to augment, by all practicable means, the authority and revenue of the Crown; and it has been said that Lord Clarendon's opposition to those measures was the principal cause of that great man's fall. Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and Secretary of State, was his first eminent political friend and patron, and his strict intimacy with that minister, together with a strong rumour that he had been secretly reconciled to the church of Rome about the time of the restoration, introduced him to the favour, and shortly after to the confidence, of the Duke of York. In compliment to that Prince, and perhaps to relieve and solace a spirit of peculiar ardency, he attended the Duke in the great sea-fight with the Dutch of the third of June, 1665, and became so interested in the tremendous novelties which he that day witnessed, that he chose to remain with the fleet after the command had devolved, in the Duke's absence, on the Earl of Sandwich, with whom he sailed, in the beginning of the following August, on the expedition to Bergen, in Norway. Nor was this all, for in the following year he accompanied Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle in that signal battle with the ships of the States General, which continued without intermission for the first four days of June, and in another engagement with the same fleet on the twenty-fifth of July. In these several actions he fought with a bravery so remarkable, that it was afterwards thought fit to record it in the Gazette which notified his admission into the Council, in which we are told that the honour was conferred on him "for the singular zeal wherin he had on all occasions merited in his Majesty's service, and more eminently in the honourable dangers in the late war against the Dutch and French, where he had been all along a constant actor, and had made it his choice to take his share in the warmest part of those services."

In the mean time he had not been employed in any ostensible office, except that of Envoy to the King of Denmark and Sweden, for the conclusion of certain treaties, and this he executed very satisfactorily in the intermediate space between his two naval campaigns. On the twenty-sixth of October, 1666, he was appointed Comptroller of the Household, and on the fifth of the following December, sworn of the Privy Council; on the thirteenth of June, 1668, the office of Treasurer of the Household was conferred on him: and, presently after, the Treasury being put into Commission on the death of the Earl of Southampton, he was named one of the Lords Commissioners. He became now, perhaps, the King's most confidential adviser, and this was presently after in a manner publicly acknowledged by his reception into that Cabinet Council which from the initial letters of the names of the five who composed it obtained the denomination of "the Cabal." The designs and the conduct of that remarkable body are now so well known that it would be impertinent to enlarge on them here. In all their plans for the establishment of absolute monarchy, and the restoration of the Romish religion, Clifford joined them with a genuine and disinterested sincerity, which wanted only a better cause to render it public virtue. His zeal indeed in the prosecution of those views rose to a pitch of enthusiasm which blinded him to all other political objects but such as tended immediately to favour or to thwart the accomplishment of them, and on such objects he bestowed no consideration but of the simplest and shortest means by which they might be forwarded or removed. The House of Commons was of course odious to him, and he justified the purchased subserviency of Charles to Louis the fourteenth, by saying, that "if the King must be in a dependence, it was better to pay it to a great and generous Prince than to five hundred of his own insolent subjects." The features of his system were very clearly drawn in a pamphlet which was published, and read with much interest, soon after his death: "This Lord's notion," says the anonymous writer, "was, that the

King, if he would be firm to himself, might settle what religion he pleased, and carry the government to what height he would: for, if men were assured in the liberty of their consciences, and undisturbed in their properties; able and upright judges made, in Westminster Hall, to judge the causes of meum and tuum; and if, on the other hand, the fort of Tilbury was finished, to bridle the city; the fort of Plymouth, to secure the west; and arms for twenty thousand men in each of these, and in Hull for the northern parts; with some addition, which might be easily and undiscernedly made, to the force now on foot, there were none who had either will, opportunity, or power, to resist."

Charles, who thirsted for absolute monarchy chiefly for the sake of personal ease, and James, always ready to sacrifice all other considerations to his inveterate affection to the ancient religion, determined to ensure his future services by giving him the strongest proofs of their favour and gratitude. On the twentieth of April, 1672, he was created Baron Clifford, of Chudleigh, in the county of Devon, to which honour was added, as his patrimony was moderate, a grant of considerable estates, chiefly in Somersetshire; and, on the twenty-eighth of the following November, was appointed Lord High Treasurer. An almost incredible tale however is extant, of the immediate motive by which Charles was induced to place him in that great post. In the preceding year the King, who had now become the voluntary vassal of Louis, resolved to gratify that Prince by breaking the league, known by the title of the triple alliance, which had been formed against France in the year 1667, between England, Sweden, and the United Provinces, and to make war on the latter of those powers. His coffers were exhausted; the Parliament not then sitting; and no reasonable hope to be entertained from assembling it of obtaining a grant of money for the prosecution of a measure so unpopular. In this dilemma, Charles is said to have declared that he would give the staff of High Treasurer to any one of his ministers who could contrive a feasible plan to raise fifteen hundred thou-

sand pounds, without an application to Parliament. "The next day," as the story goes, "Lord Ashley," (afterwards the notorious Earl of Shaftesbury) "told Clifford that there was a way to do this, but that it was dangerous, and might, in its consequences, inflame both Parliament and people. Clifford, impatient to know the secret, plied the Lord Ashley with visits, and having drunk him to a proper height, led him insensibly to the subject of the King's indigence. Lord Ashley, warm and unguarded, dropt the important secret of shutting up the Exchequer. Clifford took the hint; left the Lord Ashley as soon as he could; went the same night to Whitehall; and, attending till the King rose, demanded the white staff. The King renewed his promise if the money could be found, and then Clifford disclosed the secret, and was accordingly made Lord Treasurer." The whole of this seems to be fabulous. The wretched and iniquitous project of shutting up, as it was called, the Exchequer, by which the bankers, who had supplied Charles's necessities with money borrowed of others on the security of the revenues, were disabled from fulfilling their engagements, was devised and recommended by Ashley alone.

Lord Clifford held this high appointment for little more than six months. About the time that he obtained it, Charles, at his suggestion, published a declaration for universal liberty of conscience and worship, and for the suspension of the penal laws against dissenters of all descriptions. It was presently perceived that this measure was contrived for the encouragement and benefit of the Roman Catholics; the House of Commons took it up with great warmth; voted it to be illegal; and not only endeavoured, by two several addresses, to persuade the King to revoke it, but broke out into open hostility against the Papists, and brought in a bill for a new test, peculiarly framed to disqualify them for all public employments. The Peers received it with more moderation, but Clifford defended it in that house with a haughtiness and violence of expression which provoked the utmost resentment and disgust. It was on that occasion that he applied

the often quoted phrase, " monstrum horrendum ingens," to the vote of the Commons, and reproached that branch of the legislature in terms of anger and contempt, never, perhaps, before or since applied to it by a speaker in the upper house. The Lords, however, sanctioned the King's declaration by their vote, but the majority was small, and no less than thirty signed a protest against it. The Chancellor, Shaftesbury, spoke and voted against it, and the King, to whom Clifford had not only previously submitted the plan of his speech, but by whom some additions had been made to it, intimidated by the resentment which it had produced, and the artifices of the Treasurer's enemies, determined to abandon at once his measure, and his minister. Burnet's statement of the matter at this precise period is very curious, and, as he mentions the name of the person who reported it to him from Lord Clifford's mouth, may have a better title to credit than many others of that Bishop's anecdotes. I will give it in his own words.

" In the afternoon of the day in which the matter had been argued in the House of Lords, the Earls of Shaftesbury and Arlington got all those members of the House of Commons on whom they had any influence, (and who had money from the King, and were his spies, but had leave to vote with the party against the Court, for procuring them the more credit) to go privately to him, and to tell him that, upon Lord Clifford's speech, the House was in such fury that probably they would have gone to some high votes and impeachments, but the Lord Shaftesbury, speaking on the other side, restrained them; they believed he spoke the King's sense, as the other did the Duke's: this calmed them. So they made the King apprehend that the Lord Chancellor's speech, with which he had been much offended, was really a great service done him; and they persuaded him farther, that he might now save himself, and obtain an indemnity for his ministers if he would part with his declaration, and pass the bill. This was so dexterously managed by Lord Arlington, who got a great number of the members to go one after another to the King, who, by concert, spoke all the same language, that before night the King was quite

changed, and said to his brother, that Lord Clifford had undone himself, and had spoiled their business by his mad speech; and that, though Lord Shaftesbury had spoke like a rogue, yet that had stopped a fury which the indiscretion of the other had kindled to such a degree that he could serve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. The Duke was struck with this, and imputed it wholly to Lord Arlington's management. In the evening he told Lord Clifford what the King had said. The Lord Clifford, who was naturally a vehement man, went, upon that, to the King, who scarce knew how to look him in the face. Lord Clifford said he knew how many enemies he must needs make to himself by his speech in the House of Lords, but he hoped that in it he had both served and pleased the King, and was therefore the less concerned in every thing else; but he was surprised to find by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in some confusion. He owned that all he had said was right in itself; but he said that he, who sat so long in the House of Commons, should have considered better what they could bear, and what the necessity of his affairs required. Lord Clifford, in his first heat, was inclined to have laid down his white staff, and to have expostulated roundly with the King, but a cooler thought stopped him. He reckoned he must now retire, and therefore he had a mind to take some care of his family in the way of doing it: so he restrained himself, and said he was very sorry that his best meant services were so ill understood."

The King now revoked his declaration, and assented to the bill for the test; and Lord Clifford resigned an office which indeed he could not have retained but by a total sacrifice, not only of his honour, but of those religious principles which he had with such perfect sincerity cherished. He went to the Duke of Buckingham, who had assisted largely in obtaining it for him, and offered in return to lend his aid in forwarding the pretensions of any friend of the Duke's to the vacant post. The appointment of Sir Thomas Osborn, afterwards Duke of Leeds, was the result of that visit. Clifford retired, overwhelmed with chagrin, to the

country. Some remarkable particulars of his latter days have very lately appeared in a publication of the Diary of his intimate friend, John Evelyn, who tells us that his resignation "grieved him to the heart, and at last broke it." Mr. Evelyn adds, that when he took leave of this nobleman, on his quitting London for ever, Lord Clifford "wrung him by the hand," and said "God-b'ye—I shall never see thee more—do not expect it—I will never see this place, this city or court, again;" and couples with these speeches, which evidently refer rather to future life than death, a very idle rumour of the day, that he perished soon after by his own hand. I mention this merely for the sake of denying it. Such a fact, relating to such a man, could not have slept till now undisturbed by the officiousness of friends, or the malice of enemies. He died, as we are informed by Prince, in his "Worthies of Devon," of a fit of the stone, at his house of Ugbrook, in that county, in September, 1673; and his friend, Mr. Evelyn, from whom alone we have any view of his private character, makes some atonement for the blemish so carelessly cast on his memory, by recording that he was "a valiant uncorrupt gentleman; ambitious; not covetous; generous; passionate; and a most sincere constant friend."

Lord Clifford married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of William Martin, of Lindridge, in Devonshire, by whom he had fifteen children. Of his sons, two, each of the name of Thomas, died infants, and a third Thomas, his heir apparent, who had reached maturity, died unmarried; George, the fourth son, inherited the title and estates, and was succeeded by his brother Hugh, ancestor to the present Lord: Simon and Charles were the sixth and seventh sons. Of the daughters, Elizabeth died an infant; a second Elizabeth, was married to Henry, only son of Sir Thomas Carew, of Haccombe, in Devonshire, Bart.; Mary to Sir Simon Leech, of Cadleigh, in the county of Derby, Knight of the Bath; Amy, to John Courtenay, of Molland, in Devon; Catherine, Anne, Rhoda and Isabel, died unmarried.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.

OB. 1674.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR P. LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

London, Published Nov.^r 1, 1829, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

EDWARD HYDE,

EARL OF CLARENDON.

Fortunately for the interest of history, and not less fortunately for the honour of his memory, we possess the life of this truly great and good man from his own incomparable pen. Strange to say, to no other hand could it have been safely intrusted: he only, victim as he was to the fury of faction, and to the ingratitude of an unprincipled master, would have delivered it to us with impartiality. Gifted with a penetration into the characters of men and things so acute as to invest him with a sort of prescience of events which were to arise from their influence, and abiding therefore the consequences to himself of those events with a philosophic patience; with a magnanimity which spurned the petulant suggestions of vulgar resentment, and disdained the support of party; and, above all, with a love and reverence for truth which rendered him incapable of misrepresentation; he has recorded all the great scenes in which he acted with the moderation and candour of an indifferent and disinterested spectator. From that pure source therefore has the following humble and superficial memoir been almost wholly drawn.

Lord Clarendon, the third son of Henry Hyde, whose father was a cadet of the very ancient family of Hyde, of Norbury, in the county of Chester, by Mary, daughter and coheir of Edward Langford, of Trowbridge in Wiltshire, was born on the eighteenth of February, 1608-9. He was bred to the profession of the law, in which it may be said that he had a weighty family interest, for two of his uncles, Laurence and Nicholas, had attained to great eminence in it, especially the latter, who was at length raised to

the station of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He was educated at home till the age of thirteen, when he went to Magdalen College, in Oxford, and, having studied there, with little industry, as he himself informs us, for scarcely more than two years, was then entered of the middle Temple, and called to the bar with as much expedition as the rules of the profession allow. He presently acquired extensive practice, but, having made two advantageous marriages, his first wife having lived only six months after their union, and becoming by the death of his elder brothers, heir apparent to his father, he might probably have retired into private life, but for an accident which introduced him to Archbishop Laud, whose favour and confidence he immediately gained. The increased respect which he derived in the courts from such a connection, the honest ambition which it perhaps excited, and the affection which he conceived for Laud, whom he believed, to use his own words, "to be a man of the most exemplary virtue and piety of any of that age," induced him to remain in London, and to prosecute his labour with increased earnestness. His professional skill and learning were now held in the highest estimation, and the various powers of his capacious mind, adorned by the exact honour and integrity of his moral life, rendered him the centre of a circle of the best and wisest men of the time, who were the constant companions of his leisure hours.

This was his state at the commencement of the Parliament which met on the third of April, 1640, and in which he was elected to serve for the borough of Wotton Basset. The enlarged view which he was now enabled to take of the state of parties, added to the deliberate opinion which he had previously formed of the critical state of the country, determined him to relinquish his gown, and to devote himself wholly to the public service. He commenced his political career with an impartiality equal to the strength of his judgment, and an aversion to the abuses which had crept into the monarchy as fixed as his affection to

the monarchy itself. Thus he earnestly proposed the abolition of the Earl Marshal's Court in the very opening of this short Parliament, and in that which succeeded, to which he was returned for Saltash, in Cornwall, reiterated and accomplished the measure. He became presently one of the most active members of the Commons, not in an ostentatious display of eloquence, in which however he was equal to any, but in the useful business of the House; and was chairman of most of the committees to which affairs of the highest importance were referred, especially of those which sat on the complaints against the Courts of York, and of the Marches of Wales; the conduct of the Judges, particularly in the case of ship money; and, above all, on the great question of suppressing episcopacy. The agitation of the latter measure, which he held in the utmost abhorrence, unveiled the views of the persons with whom he had thus far acted, and his own. They aimed at the overthrow of the Monarchy and Hierarchy; he at a judicious and temperate removal of their exuberances; to which having most conscientiously lent his powerful aid to the utmost, he abandoned a party with whom he could no longer act usefully without deceit and hypocrisy, and threw the weight of his wisdom and integrity into the scale of the Crown, at the very period when it had least power to reward his fidelity.

In addition to those powerful recommendations, his exact knowledge of the views and temper of the House of Commons rendered his advice at that period of the highest importance to the King, who now committed to him the management of his affairs in that assembly, jointly with the Lord Falkland, his dear friend, who had also recently seceded from the republicans, and Sir John Colepeper. The burthen of this employment, as well as the honour of Charles's confidence, fell chiefly on Mr. Hyde. To him was mostly left the secret correspondence with the King, who, early in the year 1642, soon after this arrangement had been made, went to York, and all the answers to the incessant

petitions and remonstrances of the Parliament flowed from his luxuriant pen. In the course of the summer he joined the King at York, as well to avoid a threatened impeachment as in obedience to his Majesty's command, and was soon after specially excepted by a vote of both Houses from any general amnesty which might ensue in the event of an accommodation between the King and the Parliament. Charles's favour towards him kept pace with the malignity of the rebels. He had twice declined the office of Secretary of State, to the duties of which he thought himself incompetent, and had till this period served in no public capacity; but in the beginning of the year 1643 he was prevailed on to accept the appointment of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was at the same time knighted, and sworn of the Privy Council. He sat in the Parliament assembled by the King at Oxford in the following January, and was the next winter a commissioner for the treaty of Uxbridge, in which Charles's hopes were chiefly founded on his endeavours, especially in all that related to the church.

The abortive result of that negociation, and the increasing difficulties and dangers which surrounded the King, produced now a resolution to detach the Prince of Wales from his Majesty's person, lest they might fall together into the hands of the rebels. It was determined that he should retire into the west of England, and on the fourth of March, 1644, Hyde, who had shortly before been named one of the six who were to compose his council, took leave for the last time of the King; attended his Royal Highness to Bristol; and from thence, flying before Fairfax, into Cornwall and finally to the isles of Scilly and Jersey. The Queen now accomplished a design which she had long cherished, and which he had earnestly opposed, to prevail that the Prince should reside with her in France, and Hyde, with others of the Council not less disgusted than himself by that step, declining to accompany him thither, remained in Jersey. Here he passed between two and three years in a sweet retirement, to the loss of which he

ever after looked back with a mixture of satisfaction and regret. "He always took pleasure," to use the words of his own memoirs, written twenty-five years after, "in relating with what great tranquillity of spirit, though deprived of the joy he took in his wife and children, he spent his time here amongst his books, which he got from Paris, and his papers, between which he seldom spent less than ten hours in the day; and it can hardly be believed how much he read and writ there; insomuch as he did usually compute that during his whole stay in Jersey he writ daily little less than one sheet of large paper with his own hand." This passage, and therefore I have quoted it, is not without its value in the literary history of our country, for what can be insignificant that furnishes even the slightest anecdote relative to the composition of that glorious work which will preserve Lord Clarendon's fame when even his wisdom and purity as a minister shall be scarcely recollected? The fruit of the studies to which he alludes was the History of the Grand Rebellion, which was planned, and for the most part written, during his residence in the island of Jersey.

The peace of his retirement however was frequently interrupted. The Queen, who could not but dislike him because he had in many instances opposed her influence in public affairs, sought, though ineffectually, to sow discord between his royal master and himself, and his pen was still occasionally employed in answering the furious votes and declarations of the Parliament. At length in the spring of 1648 he received the command both of the King and Queen to join the Prince, at Paris, and, in following his Royal Highness by sea to Holland, whither he had suddenly removed, was captured by some frigates of Ostend, and afterwards so detained by bad weather, that he arrived not at the Hague till the end of August. Here, disgusted by the intrigues and animosities of the Prince's little Court, which for some time he strove in vain to compose, and at length paralyzed by the news of the King's murther, he gladly accepted the empty

commission of Ambassador extraordinary to Madrid, jointly with the Lord Cottington, and, taking Paris in his way thither, became somewhat reconciled to the Queen, who then resided at St. Germains. His mission, the object of which it is almost needless to say was to solicit the support of Spain to Charles's forlorn throne, proved fruitless, and after remaining there for several months, he was dismissed by an order from the Court, on the arrival of the news of Cromwell's successes in Scotland, Charles's unfortunate visit to which country had been undertaken against his opinion. He now, in July 1651, established his residence at Antwerp, where he had fixed his family on his departure for Madrid.

The King, on arriving at Paris after his escape from Worcester, committed his shattered affairs almost wholly to the management of Sir Edward Hyde, and never was the favour of the most powerful and wealthy Prince resented with keener envy and jealousy. His policy too, which was to wait patiently for a favourable change of opinion in England, was opposed by the whole Court, except by his fast friend the Marquis of Ormond: and the Queen, who had again become his implacable enemy, gladly aided the projects of his enemies. The Papists, the Presbyterians, and the old loyalists of the Church of England, united against him, and prepared petitions for his removal, which the firm expressions of the King, who had been apprised of the design, prevented their presenting. At length in 1653, a Mr. Robert Long, who served the King under the title of Secretary of State, accused him in form to the Council of corresponding with Cromwell, and receiving a pension from him, a charge which ended in the confusion of the informant, and the appointment of Hyde to his office. New intrigues against him of less importance succeeded, and in fact formed the whole history of the banished Court for some years while it followed the wanderings of the King in Germany and Flanders, till Charles, as it seems, crushed the hopes of these petty factions by delivering to Sir Edward the

Great Seal, with the title of Lord Chancellor, on the death of the Lord Keeper, Sir Edward Herbert, one of the most bitter of his enemies. This mark of the King's complete favour and confidence was bestowed on him at Bruges, in the Christmas week of the year 1657.

Cromwell died in the succeeding autumn, and the first glimpses of the restoration dawned amid the confusion which followed. Of the numerous circumstances of the Chancellor's extensive concern in the accomplishment of that great event it would be impossible here to treat. He had ever advised Charles to reject all proposals to replace him on the throne which might be grounded on alterations and novelties in the government either of the Church or State, the maintenance of which in their fullest integrity was the first principle in all his negotiations with the various parties by the agreement of which the happy change was at length wrought; and he had now the satisfaction to witness the re-erection of those venerable fabrics in all their former strength and splendor. In the mean time he left untouched those salutary corrections to which himself in the opening of his political life had so largely contributed, and suffered the High Commission Court, the Earl Marshal's Court, and the Star-chamber, those mighty engines of Kingly and ministerial power, to remain in the dust to which the late excesses had levelled them; neither did he endeavour to repeal the acts for triennial Parliaments; for the prohibition of tonnage, poundage, ship-money, or other abuses which had crept unwarrantably into the royal prerogative. In the same spirit of wisdom, moderation, and justice, he had the courage to institute, and forward to his utmost, the bill of indemnity, and the bill for uniformity of worship, certain to provoke the enmity of the royalists by the one, and of the presbyterians by the other, and of each he had in the end abundance of bitter experience.

Among the first marks of royal favour and gratitude dispensed after the King's arrival were those bestowed on the Chancellor,

by whom they had been so highly merited. He was presented with grants, but to no immoderate value, of Crown lands. Other valuable gifts were also assigned to him, and among them a sum of twenty thousand pounds, which he received from the King's own hand, and another of twenty-five thousand, charged on the forfeited estates in Ireland, of which last however no more than six thousand were ever paid. He held for some time, together with the Great Seal, the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Secretary of State, and was afterwards elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and appointed Lord Lieutenant of that County. The King's entire confidence, as well as the whole weight of administration, rested on him, and in addition to this burthen, Charles, who knew not how to deny, and durst not promise unless he could perform, left it to him to satisfy, or rather to dissatisfy, the multitude of claims urged on the score of suffering loyalty. He became presently therefore an object not only of envy but of disgust, and the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of York, which is treated of at large in another part of this work, and which became publicly known soon after the restoration, would probably have been the first signal of a storm against him, had not the King, almost in the instant, damped for the time the hopes of his enemies by new testimonies of esteem. In November 1660 he was created Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wilts, and, in the following April, Viscount of Cornbury, a manor in Oxfordshire lately granted to him, and Earl of Clarendon. To these dignities the King earnestly wished to have added the order of the Garter, which the Chancellor, perhaps not less careless of the distinction than anxious to avoid the jealousy that his acceptance of it might provoke, positively declined.

It was not long however before a faction was regularly arrayed against him. Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and Mr. William Coventry, a younger son of the late Lord Keeper, who might without injustice be styled political adventurers, had insinuated themselves into the King's favour by

proposing new projects for the management of the House of Commons, and undertaking to carry them into execution. The Chancellor, who disliked artifice, and abhorred corruption, discouraged their proceedings, and those persons, of whom the one excelled in dissimulation, and the other in boldness, contrived, without uttering a single expression of resentment or disrespect, to weaken the King's affection towards him. They were joined by the Duchess of Cleveland, the favourite mistress, who could scarcely be expected to entertain any regard for a man of the Chancellor's character, and others, who had waited only for leaders under whom to make the attack, readily lent their aid. Among them was George Digby, Earl of Bristol, a furious and eccentric person, to whose fidelity Charles, in his late tedious season of necessity, had owed some obligations, and with whom Clarendon had lived in intimacy and confidence. Bristol, before the plans of the party were matured, on some sudden pique, accused the Chancellor in a vague and unprepared manner to the House of Peers of high treason, and delivered in a list of articles charging him chiefly with having procured undue favour to the Papists, to whose persuasion it is singular that Bristol himself should have been lately reconciled, and with having negotiated the late sale of Dunkirk to the French, with which in fact the Chancellor seems to have had no concern but as an individual member of the Council in which that measure was resolved on, indeed rather against his judgement. This blow, for the time, was ineffectual. The Peers treated it with contempt, and the King with apparent anger. He overwhelmed the Chancellor with professions of esteem and confidence, while his mind secretly teemed with a disgust not infused by the late impotent proceeding, but by the incessant private efforts of Bennet, Coventry, and their associates, and Clarendon's sagacity discovered daily proofs of the decline of his interest, perhaps before it was suspected even by his enemies. Thus he stood at the close of the year 1663.

But the approach, slow as it was, of their victory soon became evident to the whole Court, and they employed all means, even the most despicable, to accelerate it. When Charles returned from his new counsellors, full fraught with graver prejudices, the Duke of Buskingham, at the head of a party of buffoons, entertained him in the private apartments with ridicule and mimicry of the Chancellor. They commonly called him the King's schoolmaster, and, "if the King," says Lord Clarendon himself, "said he would go such a journey, or do such a trivial thing to-morrow, somebody would lay a wager that he would not do it, and when he asked 'why' it was answered, 'that the Chancellor would not let him,' &c. Nay, it was usual for Buckingham to parade about the Room, imitating his gait and demeanour, and carrying a pair of bellows for the Great Seal, Colonel Titus walking before him, with a fire-shovel on his shoulder, as the mace. In the meantime his inflexible integrity forwarded the views of his enemies. The acute and unprincipled Lord Ashley, better known afterwards as Earl of Shaftesbury, threw himself into their ranks in revenge for the Chancellor's having refused to put the Seal to an unconstitutional patent devised solely for the emolument of that nobleman, and the King burst at length into plain expressions of anger on his honest opposition to the bill for liberty of conscience contrived in 1664 between the papists and presbyterians.

The effect of these evils was greatly enhanced by the natural cast of the Chancellor's temper. The gravity and independence of his spirit, contrasted as it now was to unceasing gaiety and flattery, became intolerable to Charles. He tells us himself too, speaking of an earlier part of his life that "he was in his nature inclined to pride and passion, and to a humour between wrangling and disputing, very troublesome," and it is clear that the King when these ebullitions prevailed was often personally treated with very little ceremony. Charles, explaining the causes of his disgust in a letter to the Duke of Ormond, Clarendon's

firm friend, charges him with "a certain peevishness of temper," and the Chancellor himself, in a curious expostulatory original addressed to the King, remaining in the Harleian collection, writes—"I do upon my knees begg your pardon for any bold or sawcy expressions I have ever used to you," and tacitly denies all other causes of offence. To counterbalance this solitary ground of reasonable umbrage Clarendon had nothing to plead but consummate wisdom, and the purest integrity, qualities now held in little estimation in Charles's Court or Council.

The King, though his affections had become at length totally alienated, was long before he could prevail on himself to dismiss this great minister. The small faction however which had poisoned his mind had exerted itself not less successfully in the Parliament, and the country, always ready to be misled, caught the infection. Clarendon, without a fault or error, became gradually the most unpopular man in the Kingdom. A vulgar outcry ascribed to him all the qualities most disgraceful to a statesman, and all the mishaps that had occurred since the restoration, insomuch that the King, had he again received him into favour, could scarcely have retained him in office. Of this public prejudice, the result of his own folly and ingratitude, Charles now meanly availed himself to cloak the shame of discharging such a servant. He visited the Chancellor; loaded him with acknowledgements of his wise and faithful services; lamented the aversion which the House of Commons had conceived against him, and his own inability to protect him against the frightful consequences of it; and besought him, as his only means of safety, to resign the Seal. Clarendon refused with a dignified respect, and assigned his reasons; and on the thirtieth of August, 1667, four days after, surrendered it in obedience to the King's express command.

He now believed, to use his own words, "that the storm had been over, for he had not the least apprehension of the displea-

sure of the Parliament or of any thing they could say or do against him," but he was presently painfully undeceived. The King, to ingratiate himself with the House of Commons, openly censured him, and, to save himself future trouble, employed secret emissaries to persuade him to quit the Kingdom. The Chancellor, with a courage inspired by conscious innocence, stoutly refused. It was at length determined that he should be accused of high treason, and a charge was prepared by a committee of the Commons, consisting of seventeen articles, the most material of which were notoriously false, and the rest wholly frivolous, in which, after long debate, the House determined that nothing treasonable could be found; yet it was resolved that he should be impeached of that crime, which was immediately done at the Lord's bar by Mr. afterwards Sir Edward Seymour, with a demand that he should be sequestrated from that House, and his person secured. The Peers refused to receive the accusation unless some particular charge were exhibited against him, and the Commons, conscious of the weakness of their case, insisted on their right to impeach generally. A long and sharp contest on this question arose between the two Houses, which was at length terminated by the King, who, fearing, as it should seem, that amidst this confusion the Chancellor might escape unhurt, specially commanded him to withdraw himself into a foreign country.

As he had resolved not to quit England but by the order of his master, so on receiving that order he instantly obeyed it. On the twenty-ninth of November, 1667, this illustrious exile embarked in a miserable boat, in the middle of the night, at Erith, and, after remaining at sea amidst the inconveniences and dangers of the worst weather for three days and nights, landed at Calais. He left behind him a representation at large to the House of Peers of his conduct since the restoration, composed with all the simplicity and modest courage of conscious innocence and truth; such however was the rage of the prevailing

party that it was presently publicly burned, by order of both Houses. They strove to proceed against him for high treason by attainder, but this was prevented by the influence of the King, who, by way of compromise, agreed to a bill of banishment, which was passed in great haste. In the mean time, Buckingham and Arlington, with the most disgraceful malice, pressed the Court of France to forbid his residence in that country, where he passed a considerable time under the continual inspection of an officer sent specially from Paris to remove him as soon as he might recover from a long fit of illness, in the midst of which he was attacked at an inn at Evreux by a brutal mob of English sailors, who believed that he had ruined their country, and narrowly escaped with life, after suffering severe personal injuries. At this period a change in French politics produced a permission that he might remain in that country, and he settled shortly after at Montpelier, where he arrived in July, 1668, and remained nearly for three years.

His first leisure in this retirement was dedicated to the composition of a vindication at large of his ministry, in which he answered severally the charges which had been preferred against him by the House of Commons. This remarkable apology, which was soon after published, he transmitted to his son, Laurence, afterwards Earl of Rochester, who took a speedy opportunity to offer to that House in express terms a challenge, which never was accepted, to prove any one of the allegations. Here closed Clarendon's political life, and here commenced the better and happier days which he consecrated to posterity. "In all this retirement," to use his own words, "he was very seldom vacant, and then only when he was under some sharp visitation of the gout, from reading excellent books, or writing some animadversions and exercitations of his own. He learned the Italian and French languages, in which he read many of the choicest books. Now he finished the work which his heart was most set upon, 'the History of the late civil wars,

and transactions to the time of the King's return in the year 1660. He finished his 'Reflections and Devotions upon the Psalms of David,' which he dedicated to his children. He wrote and finished his 'Answer to Mr. Hobbes his Leviathan.' He wrote a good volume of 'Essays, divine, moral, and political,' to which he was always adding. He prepared 'a Discourse historical of the pretence and practice of the successive Popes, from the beginning of the Jurisdiction they assume.' He entered upon the forming 'a Method for the better disposing the History of England, that it may be more profitably and exactly communicated than it hath yet been.'"

In addition to the works thus enumerated, we have likewise the following pieces from his pen—An Answer to the declaration of the House of Commons in 1648 that they would make no more addresses to the King—The Difference and Disparity between the estates and conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Essex, printed in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ—Animadversions on Mr. Cressy's book called 'Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church, by Dr Stillingfleet, and the imputation refuted and retorted'—A history of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland—A collection of the Orders heretofore used in Chancery—A Collection of Tracts, published from his original manuscripts in 1727; several of his letters, printed in the Life of Dr. Barwick; and many of his speeches in Parliament after the Restoration, which appeared separately. It is scarcely necessary to add to this list the supplement to his sublime History of the Grand Rebellion, which bears the title of his Life, and from which the contents of these sheets have been derived.

Lord Clarendon removed in 1671 to Moulines, and from thence to Rouen, where he died on the ninth of December, 1674. He was, as has been already stated, twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of Sir George Ayliffe of Wiltshire, who died childless; secondly, to Frances, daughter, and at length heir, to Sir Thomas

Aylesbury, Bart., a Master of Requests, by whom he had four sons; Henry, his successor; Laurence, created Earl of Rochester; Edward, and James, who died unmarried; and two daughters; Anne, married to James Duke of York; and Frances, to Sir Thomas Keighley, of Hartingfordbury in Herts, Knight of the Bath.

Engraved by H.Robinson.

JOHN POWLETT, MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

OB.1674.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF PETER OLIVER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

London Published Decr 1.1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN POWLETT,

FIFTH MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

This nobleman, whose services and sufferings in the cause of King Charles the first justly gained for him the title of "the great Loyalist," was the third son of William, the fourth Marquis, by Lucy, second daughter of Thomas Cecil, second Earl of Exeter of his family. He was born in the year 1597, and received a part of his education in Exeter College, Oxford. His two elder brothers having previously died without issue, he succeeded in 1628 to his family honours, and to the possession of a noble estate, which his father's magnificent hospitality had burthened with an immense debt, to remove which he passed many years in a dignified seclusion, and had barely attained his object when the miserable circumstances of the times compelled Charles to take up arms against his Parliament.

That great and melancholy event drew him instantly from his retirement. He flew to the King; placed in his hands such of the fruits of his honourable frugality as were immediately within his reach; and promised the rest to the service of the royal interest. The pledge was but too soon redeemed. It occurred to the King's military advisers that Basing House, in Hampshire, the Marquis's chief seat, might be fortified and garrisoned to much advantage, as it commanded the main road from the western counties to London. It had already, like most of the great houses of that time, many of the requisites of a place of defence, "standing," says the anonymous author of some Memoirs of Cromwell, entitled the Perfect Politician, "on a rising ground, encompassed with a brick rampart, and that lined with earth; a deep dry ditch environing all." As a domestic

mansion, its situation, its vast extent of building, the magnificence and convenience of its apartments, and, above all, the splendor of its furniture and decorations, had justly rendered it the chief ornament and pride of that part of England. On every window, or, as some say, which is more likely, on every pane, the Marquis had written with a diamond "Aimez Loyauté;" and the sentiment was engraven too on his heart; for he obeyed the call of his Sovereign's necessity without a moment's hesitation; exchanged at once the delicate enjoyments in which he had always lived for the hardships of a soldier's life; converted his palace into a fortification, his family into a garrison, and himself into a military governor.

The journal of the Siege of Basing House forms one of the most remarkable warlike features of the grand rebellion. It commenced in August, 1643, when the whole force with which the Marquis had to defend it, in addition to his own inexperienced people, amounted only to one hundred musqueteers, sent to him from Oxford. In this state of comparative weakness, it resisted for more than three months the continued attack of a conjunction of the Parliament troops of Hampshire and Sussex, under the command of five Colonels of distinguished reputation. It was considered of such importance to the royal cause that the Privy Council specially addressed to the King their request that he would, for the sole purpose of relieving it, change the route by which he had then determined to march into the West, but other circumstances rendered this impracticable. In the mean time the Marquis, and his Lady, whom he had sent for safety to Oxford, pressed earnestly for reinforcements from the troops who defended that city, but his request was of necessity denied, for the royal government was then seated there, with a military protection not more than adequate to so important a charge. At length he wrote to the Council that "for want of provisions he could not defend himself above ten days, and must then submit to the worst conditions that the rebels were like to grant to his person,

and to his religion," for he was a stedfast Roman Catholic. The many eminent persons of that persuasion who were then in Oxford, had before proposed to form of themselves and their servants a body sufficiently numerous for the enterprise, but the utter improbability of their being able to return through a country over which the enemy's troops were every where scattered produced at that time a rejection of the gallant offer. Chiefly, however, at the pressing instances of the Marchioness, the Council was persuaded again to entertain the question, when Colonel, afterwards Sir Henry, Gage, that great ornament to the royal service, and to his eminent family, volunteered to take the command of the gallant band; "which offer," says Lord Clarendon, "having been made with great cheerfulness by a person of whose prudence as well as courage they had a full confidence, they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual." The difficulties, the dangers, and the exquisite military skill, which combined to give an almost romantic character to this excursion are precisely detailed by the noble historian, and form a relation so interesting, that I could wish it were consistent with the design and the scope of this work here to repeat it; but it must suffice to say that the enterprise proved completely successful, and that the party returned to Oxford almost without loss.

The Marquis, thus recruited, continued to sustain the siege with the most determined perseverance and bravery, when it was suddenly discovered (such was the unnatural party virulence of which the history of those sad days afford but too many instances) that the Lord Edward Powlett, his youngest brother, then serving under him in his house, had engaged to betray it to the rebels. Sir Richard Grenville, whom they had sent from London to take possession of it, treacherous in his turn to his employers, quitted his road at Staines, and went directly to Oxford, where he communicated the design to the King, who apprised the Marquis of all the circumstances attending it. Lord Edward was instantly seized, confessed the whole, and impeached the rest of the conspi-

rators; and the Marquis, having interceded with his Majesty to spare his life, turned him out of the garrison.

Soon after this event another relief of provisions was thrown into it by Gage, with the same gallantry and dexterity as the former. The attack was continually pressed with the utmost vigour, and the Marquis equally distinguished himself by his bravery in almost daily sallies, and by the good judgment of his measures of defence within the walls. He exposed his person to danger with the courage and coolness of an old soldier. On the third of July, 1644, a musquet ball passed through his clothes, and on the twenty-second he was wounded by another. We learn these circumstances from a journal of the siege, then printed at Oxford; which minutely records every day's work from the commencement to the fourteenth of November in that year. That little tract preserves also two short letters from the Marquis, highly characteristic of the noble zeal that inspired him. On the eleventh of the same July, Morley, one of the rebel Colonels, who then commanded the besiegers in the absence of Colonel Norton, a man of a large estate in Hampshire, having, in stern but civil terms, summoned the garrison to surrender, the Marquis replied,

"SIR,

"It is a crooked demand, and shall receive its answer suitable. I keep the house in the right of my Sovereign, and will do it, in despite of your forces. Your letter I will preserve in testimony of your rebellion.

WINCHESTER."

And to another summons, from Norton himself, on the second of the following September, "in the name of the Parliament of England," he answers,

SIR,

"Whereas you demand the house and garrison of Basing by a pretended authority of Parliament, I make this answer; that

without the King there can be no Parliament. By his Majesty's commission I keep this place, and, without his absolute command, shall not deliver it to any pretenders whatsoever.

Your's, to serve you,

WINCHESTER."

Norton, having gradually lost more than half his men under the walls, abandoned the attack, and was succeeded by a stronger force, under the command of a Colonel Harvey, which had no better fortune. At length Sir William Waller, whom his party affected to call "the Conqueror," advanced against it, at the head of seven thousand horse and foot. These too, says the author of "the Perfect Politician," above quoted, "did little more than heighten the courage of the besieged, who made frequent desperate sallies on them, till at length, thus outbraving all assailants for years, the place began to be esteemed impregnable." A mighty interest had now arisen for this little band of heroes, and their illustrious chief. Amidst the various objects of the war, none seemed so powerfully to excite the anxiety of Charles as the siege of Basing House. It was a natural feeling, which arose from veneration and gratitude, and therefore the loyalists throughout the kingdom participated in it as with a common assent. The rebels themselves regarded this Nobleman with a respectful admiration, and blushed, behind the mask of pretended patriotism, while they looked around in vain among their numerous partisans for a volunteer who fought neither for glory nor for spoil; who had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain; who had turned suddenly round from the tedious and painful redemption of his patrimony to ruin it in the cause of his Sovereign; whose motives, and whose conduct, seemed to have in them something more than human, merely because they flowed pure and unmixed from the finest principles of humanity.

A sad reverse however was approaching. The fatal battle of Naseby soon after broke the spirits of the loyalists, and the King's

strong places surrendered in rapid succession. Cromwell, flushed with success, marched from Winchester, which had fallen with little resistance, upon Basing, where, according to its accustomed port, his summons was proudly rejected. But he was then irresistible. Bold, skilful, fortunate, and secretly inspired with a hope so gigantic that it gave a giant's force to all his endeavours, nothing could effectually withstand them. After a most obstinate conflict, Basing Castle was on the sixteenth of October, 1645, taken by storm, and be it ever recollected by those who may be inclined to rank Cromwell among heroes that, after his victory, he put most of its incomparable garrison to the sword. The Marquis had animated the besieged by his presence and example to the last moment. His life was spared, and he was sent a prisoner to London. What remained of his noble seat, which Hugh Peters, after its fall, told the House of Commons, " would have become an Emperor to dwell in," the rebels wantonly burned to the ground, having pillaged it, say all who have recorded this part of the tragical tale, of money, jewels, plate, and household stuff, to the almost incredible value of two hundred thousand pounds. After having been for some time imprisoned, he was permitted to retire, harassed with fines and sequestrations, to his estate at Englefield in Berks, where he passed the long remainder of his life in privacy, innocently dividing his time between agricultural exercise, and literary leisure. There the restoration found him, and left him, for this great creditor of the Crown was never in the smallest degree requited. Impelled perhaps by a spirit at once lofty and dejected, it is not improbable that he might have stedfastly refused any mark of royal favour; and it is more agreeable to entertain that conjecture, than to load the memory of Charles the Second with a new instance of ingratitude.

Three works translated from the French by the Marquis are extant. " Devout Entertainments of a Christian Soul," by J. H. Quarré, D. D. done during his imprisonment, and printed at Paris in 1649: " The Gallery of Heroic Women," by Peter le Moine,

a Jesuit, in folio, 1652; and " The Holy History" of Nicholas Talon, in quarto, in the following year, both which were printed in London. He published other books, which, says Anthony Wood, " I have not yet seen."

The Marquis was thrice married: First to Jane, daughter of Thomas, Viscount Savage, by whom he had issue Charles, his successor, who was created Duke of Bolton by King William; secondly, to Honora, daughter of Richard de Burgh, Earl of St. Alban's and Clanricarde, who brought him four sons, of whom two only, John and Francis, lived to manhood; and three daughters; Frances, married to Louis de Ricardie, a French gentleman; Anne, to John Lord Belasyse; and Honora, who died a spinster. By his third Lady, Mary, daughter of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, he had no children. He died on the fifth of March, 1674, and was buried in the parish Church of Englefield, where, on an unostentatious tablet, in compliance with the direction of his Will, appears this inscription, from the hand of Dryden.

" He who in impious times undaunted stood,
And midst rebellion durst be just and good;
Whose arms asserted, and whose sufferings more
Confirm'd, the cause for which he fought before;
Rests here, rewarded by a heavenly Prince
For what is earthly could not recompence.
Pray, reader, that such times no more appear;
Or, if they happen, learn true honour here.
Ark of his age's faith and loyalty,
Which, to preserve them, Heaven confined in thee;
Few subjects could a King like thine deserve,
And fewer such a King so well could serve.
Blest King; blest subject; whose exalted state
By sufferings rose, and gave the law to fate.
Such souls are rare; but mighty patterns given
To earth were meant for ornaments to Heaven."

Engraved by H.T.Ryall.

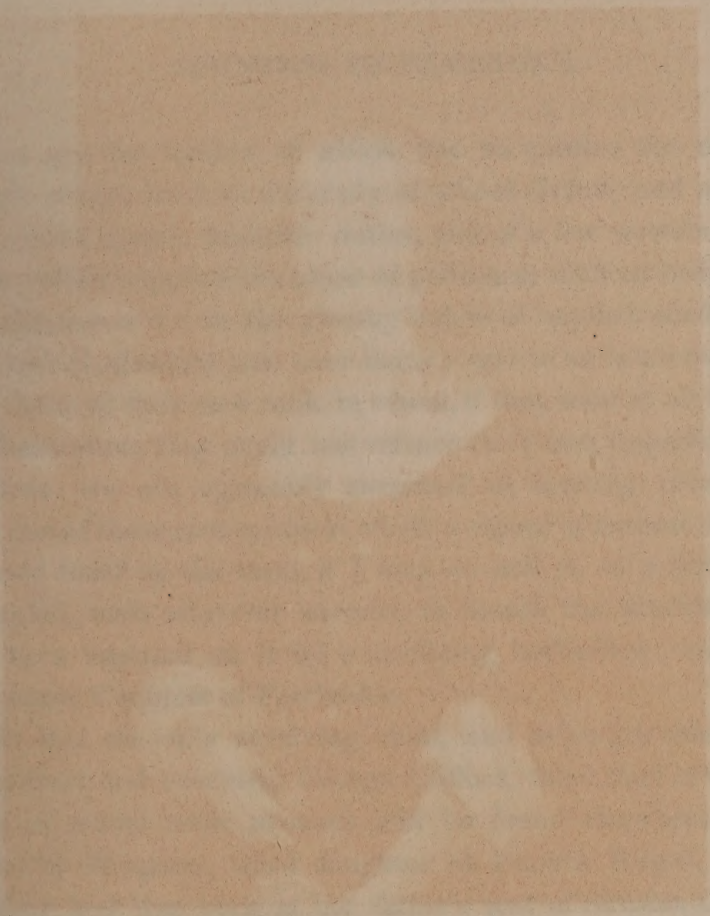
ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF DORSET, PEMBROKE, AND MONTGOMERY.

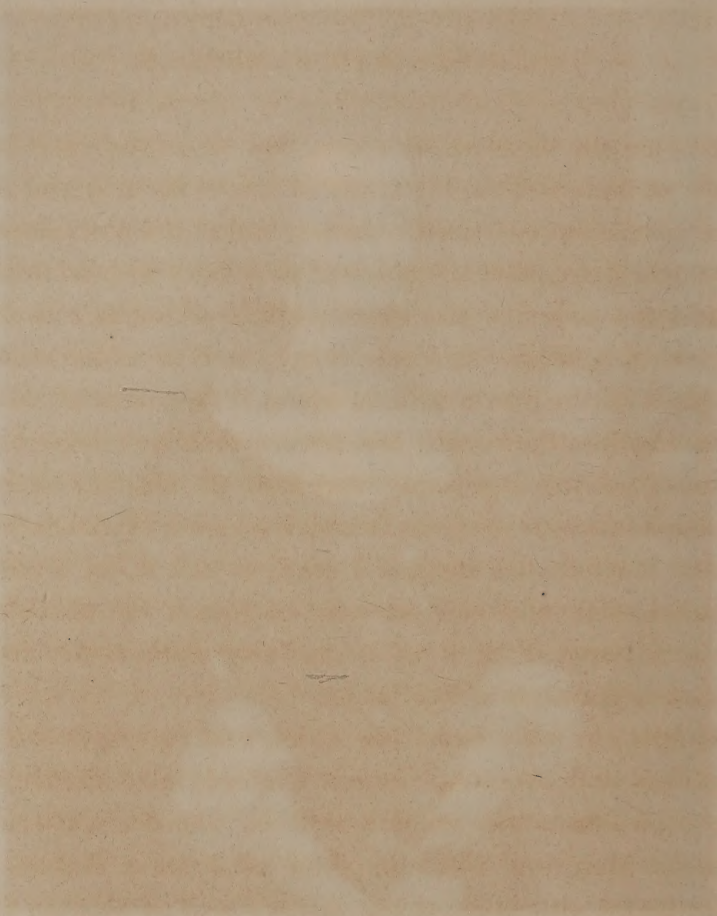
OB.1675.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF DORSET.

London, Published Aug.1.1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.





ANNE CLIFFORD,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

In an age the fashion of which was to confine the minds of women of high birth to the study of school divinity and morality, of the most simple domestic duties, and of a few wretched social forms, which supplied the place of politeness without bearing any resemblance to it; to the gloomy habits of implicit obedience to one, and of absolute rule over many; and to an intercourse only with those of their own rank, in whom, if they were at all disposed to observation, they could but retrace their own imperfect qualifications; we are agreeably surprised at meeting occasionally with one of those rare spirits in which a vigour of natural character opposed itself to the taste, if I may so call it, of a nation, and struggled, with whatever success, to loosen the shackles which had been imposed on it by a declining barbarism: such a one had Anne, Countess of Pembroke.

She was the only surviving child, and at length sole heir, of the gallant and eccentric George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, of whom some account will be found elsewhere in this work, by Margaret, third daughter of Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford, and was born at her father's seat of Skipton-Castle, in Yorkshire, on the thirtieth of January, 1589. Unhappy dissentions subsisted between her parents, and they were separated in her childhood; but it was her good fortune to be left to the care of her mother, a woman of equal prudence and probity, by whom the charge of the more important part of her education was entrusted to Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean fame in those days. From him she acquired a taste for history and poetry, and a fondness for literary composition, which she indulged to a

great extent, without publishing, or intending to publish, the fruits of her application. She fell therefore into the common faults with those who write for their own closets, and we find her pen generally careless, often trifling and tedious, and always egotistical; yet in this unpromising mixture we meet frequently with proofs of original genius, and solid intellect, and with scattered examples of the purest and most graceful style of her time. Her chief work is a summary of the circumstances of her own life, which I mention thus early because from that source the materials for the present Memoir will be mostly drawn.

Her picture of her person and mind in her youth is too curious to be omitted, especially as, while it imparts to us her opinion of herself, it betrays features of character of which it is almost certain that she was wholly unconscious. "I was," says she, "very happy in my first constitution, both in mind and body; both for internal and external endowments; for never was there a child more equally resembling both father and mother than myself. The colour of mine eyes was black, like my father's, and the form and aspect of them was quick and lively, like my mother's. The hair of my head was brown, and very thick, and so long that it reached to the calf of my legs when I stood upright; with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple on my chin: Like my father, full cheeks; and round face, like my mother; and an exquisite shape of body, resembling my father. But now time and age have long since ended all those beauties, which are to be compared to the grass of the field: (Isaiah, xl. 67, 68; 1 Peter, i. 24:) For now, when I caused these memorables of myself to be written, I have passed the sixty-third year of my age. And, though I say it, the perfections of my mind were much above those of my body: I had a strong and copious memory; a sound judgement, and a discerning spirit; and so much of a strong imagination in me, as at many times even my dreams and apprehensions proved to be true," &c. &c.

She was married to young Richard, third Earl of Dorset of the

Sackvilles, a man of lively parts, and licentious life, and probably a polite and negligent husband; and afterwards, when she had passed the age of forty, to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, a person distinguished only by the brutality of his manners, and the most ungrateful disloyalty. She had abundant cause of private offence from each. The first was a spendthrift, and quarrelled with her because she prevented him from dissipating her estate; the second was a tyrant, and distracted her by the savageness of his humour. Yet she speaks well, and even kindly, of both. The one she tells us was in his nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, and very valiant: that he excelled in every sort of learning all the young nobility with whom he studied at Oxford; and that he was a true patriot, and an eminent patron of scholars and soldiers. Of the other she says, that he had a very quick apprehension, a sharp understanding, and a discerning spirit, with a very cholerick nature; and that he was in all respects one of the most distinguished noblemen in England, and well beloved throughout the realm; all which except the slight censure of his temper, is expressly contradicted by the best historical evidence. How happened it then, high spirited and clear sighted as she was, that she should thus have sacrificed not only the truth, but her own feelings of resentment, by these unmerited compliments? Probably because she disdained to own, even to herself, an erroneous judgment in the choice of her consorts, and because the burthen of their ill usage had been lightened by the consolation she found in self-preference.

I will insert one more extract from her Memoirs, in her own words; not only as it exhibits a further proof of this singular complaisance, but for the view which it affords us of her character, or rather of her own conception of it, in middle age.

"I must confess," says she, "with inexpressible thankfulness, that, through the goodness of Almighty God, and the mercies of my Saviour Jesus Christ, Redeemer of the world, I was born a

happy creature in mind, body, and fortune; and that those two Lords of mine, to whom I was afterwards by divine Providence married, were in their several kinds worthy noblemen as any there were in this kingdom; yet it was my misfortune to have contradictions and crosses with them both. With my first Lord, about the desire he had to make me sell my rights in the lands of my ancient inheritance for a sum of money, which I never did, nor never would consent unto, insomuch as this matter was the cause of a long contention betwixt us; as also for his profusion in consuming his estate, and some other extravagances of his: and with my second Lord, because my youngest daughter, the Lady Isabella Sackville, would not be brought to marry one of his younger sons, and that I would not relinquish my interest I had in five thousand pounds, being part of her portion, out of my lands in Craven. Nor did there want malicious ill willers, to blow and foment the coals of dissention between us; so as in both their life times, the marble pillars of Knowle, in Kent, and Wilton, in Wiltshire, were to me oftentimes but the gay arbours of anguish; insomuch as a wise man, that knew the insides of my fortune, would often say that I lived in both these my Lords' great families as the river Roan, or Rhodanus, runs through the lake of Geneva without mingling any part of it's streams with that lake; for I gave myself wholly to retiredness as much as I could in both these great families, and made good books and virtuous thoughts my companions, which can never discern affliction, nor be daunted when it unjustly happen; and by a happy genius I overcame all those troubles, the prayers of my blessed mother helping me therein."

We have indeed abundant proof of the misery in which she must have lived with Lord Pembroke from the following letter, written by her to her uncle, Edward, Earl of Bedford, which remains in the Harleian Collection.

"My Lorde,

"Yesterdaye by Mr. Marshe I receved your Lordship's letter, by which I perceved how much you were trubled att the reporte of my beeing sicke, for which I humblé thanke your Lordshipe. I was so ill as I did make full accountt to die; but now, I thanke God, I am somthinge better. And now, My Lorde, give me leve to desire thatt favouer from your Lordship as to speke ernestly to my Lorde for my coming up to the towne this terme, ether to Bainarde's Castell, or the Cok-pitt; and I protest I will be reday to returne backe hether agane whensoever my Lorde appoynttes itt. I have to this purpos written now to my Lorde, and putt it inclosed in a letter of mine to my Ladey of Carnarvan, as desiring her to deliver itt to her father, whiche I know shee will do with all the advantage shee can, to farder this busines; and iff your Lordship will joyne withe her in itt, you shall afforde a charittable and a most acceptable favouer to to your Lordship's cossen, and humble frind to command,

Ramossbury, this 14 of January, 1638. Anne Pembrooke."

"If my Lorde sholld deny my comming, then I desire your Lordship I may understand itt as sone as may bee thatt so I may order my poore businesses as well as I cane witheoutt my one comminge to the towne; for I dare not ventter to come upe witheoutt his leve, lest he sholld take that occassion to turne mee outt of this howse, as hee did outt of Whitthall, and then I shall not know wher to put my hede. I desire nott to staye in the towne above 10 dayes, or a fortnight att the most."

This worthless Peer, from whom she had been obliged at length to separate herself, died in 1649; and now, finding herself emancipated from the thraldom under which she had so long laboured, her great spirit bounded, as it were, at once to the proper height which nature had allotted to it. She retired to her own superb estates in the north; not to seclude herself from society, but to chear and enliven it by a princely hospitality; not to cultivate in

mortification the devotions of the closet, but to invigorate the piety, and improve the morals, of a very large community, as well by her instruction as her example; not to increase her revenues by contracting her expenses, but to give loose to a profusion at once magnificent and œconomical, and to adorn a region with splendid monuments to the fame of her illustrious progenitors, and to the zeal with which she had devoted herself to the celebration of their memory. She was at that time more than sixty years old, but she entered on her task with the ardour and alacrity of youth. Skipton Castle, the chief seat of her family, and its parish Church, had been demolished by a siege during the grand rebellion, and five other castles and mansions of her ancestors were in ruins. All these she gradually restored to their pristine grandeur and convenience. She rebuilt the Church at Bongate, near Appleby, and the neighbouring Chapels of Brougham, Ninekirke, and Mallerstang, and a great part of the Church of Appleby, where also she built, and liberally endowed, a fine hospital for thirteen respectable widows. She testified her filial piety by placing in that town a statue of her beloved mother, and by covering, at Skipton, the ashes of her father with a superb tomb; and her affection to departed genius by erecting a monument for Spenser, in Westminster-abbey, and another for her tutor, Daniel; at Beckingham, in Somersetshire. She reared also in Westmoreland a stately Obelisk, the remains of which, on the Roman road called the Maiden Way, are still identified by the name of "Countess Pillar," to mark the spot where for the last time she parted with her mother.

"But it is still more to her honour," feelingly and eloquently says Dr. Whitaker, in his History of Craven, "that she patronized the poets of her youth, and the distressed loyalists of her maturer age; that she enabled her aged servants to end their lives in ease and independence; and, above all, that she educated and portioned the illegitimate children of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset. Removing from Castle to Castle, she diffused plenty

and happiness around her, by consuming on the spot the produce of her vast domains in hospitality and charity. Equally remote from the undistinguishing profusion of ancient times, and the parsimonious elegance of modern habits, her house was a school for the young, and a retreat for the aged; an asylum for the persecuted, a college for the learned, and a pattern for all."

Spite of these admirable attributes, and of all the monuments which she herself had raised, the fame of this Lady was sinking fast into oblivion, when it was suddenly revived by the publication, in 1753, in a periodical paper called "the World," of the following letter, alledged to have been written by her to Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State to Charles the Second, who had presumed to recommend to her a candidate for her borough of Appleby.

"I have been bullied by an Usurper; I have been neglected by a Court; but I will not be dictated to by a Subject. Your man sha'nt stand.

ANNE DORSET, PEMBROKE, AND MONTGOMERY."

This letter, not to speak of its value as relating to the Countess's story, was peculiarly recommended to notice by some local circumstances. It appeared in a publication avowedly written by one justly and equally celebrated for the politeness of his literary taste, and for his extensive acquaintance with the later antiquities of his country. It flattered the political prejudices of the hour, and furnished a new theme to the Whigs, drawn from a period comparatively slavish, yet ascribed to one of the highest of the aristocracy. It was viewed as an inestimable curiosity in every point of consideration, and a thousand times quoted or repeated. It found its way even into the "Philosophy of Rhetoric" of Dr. Campbell, who uses it to illustrate a position. After all, I incline strongly to doubt, nay to deny, the genuineness of the document itself. Fond as the Countess was of recording even the most insignificant affairs of her life, there are no traces

of it, nor of the circumstance which is said to have occasioned it, in her Memoirs; nor does the work in which it first appeared condescend to favour us with any hint of reference to the original authority from which it was derived. These, however, are but strong grounds for suspicion; but the internal evidence of the thing itself seems completely to destroy all chance of its authenticity. The measured construction and the brevity of each individual sentence; the sudden disjunction of the sentences from each other; the double repetition, in so small a space, of the same phrase; and the studied conciseness of the whole; are all evidently creatures of modern taste, and finished samples of that science of composition which had then (I mean when the Countess acquired her habits of writing,) scarcely dawned on English prose. No instance, I think, can be found of the verb "stand" having been used at that time in the sense to which it is applied in this letter, nor was the quaint and coarse word "bully" known but as a substantive. It is vexatious to be obliged to strip this Lady's life of an anecdote so interesting, but it would have been uncandid to insert it without the remarks which I have taken the liberty to make.

The Countess had the happiness to live very long, with few infirmities. Dr. Whitaker states her age to have been eighty-seven, but the inscription on the splendid tomb which had been erected by herself at Appleby expressly informs us that she was born on the thirtieth of January, 1590, and died, at her Castle at Brougham, on the twenty-second of March, 1675. Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, preached a sermon at her funeral, in the dull and conceited strain which then distinguished such orations; from which, however, I will select a single passage, because we have hitherto received no account of her character but from her own pen. "She had," says he, "a clear soul, shining through a vivid body. Her body was durable and healthful, her soul sprightful; of great understanding and judgment; faithful memory, and ready wit. She had early gained a knowledge, as

of the best things, so an ability to discourse in all commendable arts and sciences, as well as in those things which belong to persons of her birth and sex to know. She could discourse with virtuosos, travellers, scholars, merchants, divines, statesmen, and with good housewives, in any kind; insomuch that a prime and elegant wit, well seen in all human learning," (Dr. Donne) "is reported to have said of her that she knew well how to discourse of all things, from predestination down to slea-silk. If she had sought fame rather than wisdom possibly she might have been ranked among those wits, and learned of that sex, of whom Pythagoras, or Plutarch, or any of the ancients, have made such honourable mention: but she affected rather to study with those noble Bereans, and those honourable women, who searched the Scriptures daily; and, with Mary, she chose the better part, of learning the doctrine of Christ." The Sermon informs us that she left an account of "the Honours, Descents, Pedigrees, Estates, Titles, and Claims, of her progenitors, comprised, historically and methodically, in three volumes of the larger size." Those who have written of her seem to confound this work with the Memoirs of herself, which have already been spoken of, but the Bishop clearly distinguishes them. Lord Orford says that she wrote Memoirs of her first husband, the Earl of Dorset, which remain in manuscript: This has been, apparently with little reason, doubted by some later writers. Many curious effusions from her busy mind probably remain unknown, and buried among the evidences of her posterity.

This great Countess had by Lord Dorset three sons, who died infants, and two daughters; Margaret, married to John Tufton, Earl of Thanet; and Isabella, to James Compton, Earl of Northampton. By the Earl of Pembroke she had no children.

Engraved by W.T.Mote

WILLIAM KERR, EARL OF LOTHIAN.

OB. 1675.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF JAMIESON, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN.

London. Published Augt 1, 1834, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

WILLIAM KERR,

THIRD EARL OF LOTHIAN.

Sir Robert Kerr, created Earl of Ancram in 1633, whose incomparable loyalty, and whose elegant literary taste, rendered him a conspicuous ornament to his country at a period when it unhappily possessed little of either, married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Murray, of Blackbarony; and, secondly, Anne, daughter of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, and widow of Sir Henry Portman, of Orchard in Somersetshire. His sole issue by the first of those ladies was William, the subject of this memoir. By the other he had several children; and his Earldom, which had been settled first on the fruit of his second marriage, devolved accordingly at his death on Charles, the only son, whose line failing in the next generation, it reverted to this nobleman, whose lineal descendant, the present Marquis of Lothian, now enjoys it. William, though third Earl of Lothian of his family, did not inherit that dignity. He had married Anne Kerr, Countess of Lothian in her own right, daughter and heir to the second Earl, a lady of his own blood, but most distant kindred, and the honour was therefore conferred on him by a new patent, on the 31st of July, 1631. I state these facts thus particularly because they are involved in some degree of intricacy, and have been more than once misrepresented.

This Earl, the chief care of whose parents had been to fix in his mind, even from his cradle, an attachment to monarchical government, and an affectionate veneration towards the person of the reigning king, became, by a strange perverseness, perhaps the most sincere and bitter enemy among his countrymen to both. In this double rebellion, however, at once against his

father and his prince, he had the merit at least of consistency, for his fidelity to the cause which he had espoused, was invariable, and even unsuspected, and his motives wholly disinterested; and hence, rather than from his talents, which were not of the highest class, he possessed the entire confidence of his party. He appeared in 1638 among the most vehement of the covenanters, and was in the following year nominated, with thirteen others, to manage the deceitful and vexatious treaty then offered by them to Charles at Berwick. In 1640 he had a command in the Scottish army which invaded England: was present at the siege of Newcastle on Tyne, which was the only exploit worth naming in the expedition; and on the reduction of that town was appointed governor of it by the party which then ruled Scotland. He was soon after named one of the four commissioners of the Scottish Treasury, and in 1641 was placed at the head of a deputation of trusty covenanters, who were sent to London to offer to the Parliament a Scottish army to serve against the Irish rebels, and to procure from that assembly an engagement to maintain such troops as might be raised for that purpose. This agreement, which had indeed been previously made, and which had deeper views than the proposed expedition, was presently confirmed. The army was levied, and Lothian, to whom the command of a regiment was given sailed with it to Ireland, where he seems to have done nothing worth recording.

He was dispatched in 1643 to Paris, under the pretence of adjusting some differences relative to the privileges of his countrymen in their commerce with France, but in fact for the purpose of weakening the interest and distracting the measures of Charles in that Court. On his return he landed at an English port, and went to Oxford to wait on the King, who, having been apprised of his dealings in France, caused him to be arrested, and he was committed, under an accusation of high treason, to the castle of Bristol, where he remained for several months a close prisoner. Released from thence, in compliance with a

petition specially for that purpose from the self-appointed government at Edinburgh to the King, he returned into Scotland, and immediately accepted from the same persons a commissson, directed to the Marquis of Argyll and himself, for the raising an army to oppose to those brave and generous efforts for the royal cause by which the gallant Montrose was then exciting the admiration even of his enemies. They mustered their friends and dependents, and were presently in the field at the head of a powerful force, but their campaign was short and inglorious. Lothian, who commanded fifteen hundred horse, appears to have been but once engaged, and on that occasion fled ignominiously. It occurred in a skirmish under the walls of Faivy Castle, near Strathbogie, and is thus spoken of by George Wiseheart, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, the faithful biographer of Montrose: —" His," (Montrose's) " horse, which were but fifty, being disposed in a place of danger, he timely secured them by lining them with musqueteers; for Lothian charged them with five whole troops, who, before they had crossed over half a field that lay between them, being scared with our shot, wheeled about and returned to the place from whence they came." Argyll soon after abandoned his command, and shut himself up, with a garrison for his own defence, in his castle of Inverary; and Lothian, as we hear no more of him in the field, probably followed the same course.

In the autumn of 1646 he was placed at the head of a commission, under the authority and direction of which himself and some others waited on the King, then in the hands of the Scottish army, to exhort him to accede to the last bitter propositions offered to him by the rebel Parliament in England, which, as is well known, Charles positively and magnanimously refused. The surrender of that Prince's person by the traitors who then governed Scotland speedily followed. Lothian, who had been a willing party to that infamous measure, and had protested in Parliament against a late feeble effort of doubtful loyalty, which

is known in the Scottish history by the name of "the Duke of Hamilton's Engagement," was now appointed Secretary of State, in the room of that nobleman's brother, the Earl of Lanerick (Lanark), who soon after fled to Holland. In the mean time the close of Charles's miseries approached. A treaty however still subsisted between him and his House of Commons, whose authority, now little less shorn than his own, the leaders of the covenant faction had resolved to support to their utmost; nor were they less anxious to deceive the world into a milder opinion of their late treachery towards the King by some public expression of their horror and resentment of the extremities to which he was reduced by the new military usurpation. With these views, as Lord Clarendon informs us, "the Earl of Lothian, and two others who were known to be most zealous for the covenant, and most enraged and incensed against the proceedings of the army, were made choice of, and presently sent away that they might make all possible haste to Westminster, and were, immediately upon their arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the King, wherever he should be, and to receive from him such further directions as he should judge necessary for his service." They had scarcely arrived in London when Cromwell marched his army thither; dispersed in a moment the frantic and iniquitous assembly, which had for some years usurped the name and authority of a Parliament; and erected his "High Court of Justice" for the Condemnation of the King.

The trouble of Lothian's commission was considerably narrowed by these events. He had been directed to flatter this nominal Parliament; to amuse the unhappy Charles with new deceptions: and to enter a cold dissent, should circumstances render it necessary, from any resolution of violence towards the royal person. A large abstract of his instructions, displaying a turpitude of various treachery inconsistent even with the fraud and apathy of the vilest diplomatic negotiations recorded in history, has been preserved by Lord Clarendon.

Nothing, however, now remained to be done but to make the protestation against the sacrifice of the King, which was not presented till he had been twice dragged before the tribunal by which he was to be judged, and was couched in terms which scarcely maintained even the affectation of sincerity. The remnant of a legislature which Cromwell had permitted to subsist, partly understood the spirit which had dictated this profession, and, having first murdered the King, returned to Lothian such an answer as they thought would be agreeable to the persons by whom he had been sent, as well as to himself, who, as Lord Clarendon informs us, " had upon all occasions carried the rebellion highest, and shewed the most implacable malice to the person of the King."

But, however welcome the treason, some points in the reply of the traitors were little relished by Lothian and his brethren. They were told plainly that the government of England was to be strictly republican, and, almost as plainly, that it was intended to compel Scotland to adopt the same system. The constitution of Scotland, a monarchy with few limitations, had remained untouched; and the covenanters, far from aiming at the destruction of the regal character, looked forward with hope to the authority of the young King, as an instrument which they might easily bend to the accomplishment of all their purposes. The commissioners therefore rejoined, in a tone which gave much offence, and their English friends having neither time nor inclination to expostulate further with them, and foreseeing some probable inconvenience from the liberty of persons of such condition disposed to argue for royalty, shut them up without ceremony, nor were they released till the arrival of a remonstrance from Scotland, when they were sent to Gravesend strictly guarded, and embarked there for their own country. Of Lothian we have no further intelligence after this period, than that he was dispatched to Breda by the Parliament in the beginning of the succeeding year, 1650, together with the Earl of Cassilis and

others, to invite Charles the second to Scotland, on the hard conditions so frequently rejected by his royal father, as they now were by himself.

William, third Earl of Lothian, survived till 1675. He had issue by his Countess, who has been mentioned above, five sons; Robert, the eldest, who succeeded to the dignities, and was in 1701 created Marquis of Lothian; Sir William; Charles, ancestor of the Kerrs of Abbotsrule; Harry, and John, who died young. He had also nine daughters; Anne, wife of Alexander Fraser, Master of Saltoun; Elizabeth, married to John Lord Borthwick; Jane and Margaret, who died young; Mary, wife of James Brodie, of Brodie; Margaret, married to James Richardson, of Smeaton; Vere, to Lord Neil Campbell, second son of Archibald Marquis of Argyll; Henrietta, to Sir Francis Scott, of Thirlestane; and Lilias, who died unmarried.

Engraved by W.H.Mote

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

OB. 1676.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONBLE THE EARL SPENCER.

London, Published, March 1, 1832, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

WILLIAM CAVENDISH,

FIRST DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

This brave, accomplished, and magnificent nobleman was the eldest son and heir of Sir Charles Cavendish, next and younger brother to the first Earl of Devonshire of the family, by Catharine, second of the two daughters and coheirs of Cuthbert, last Lord Ogle of his surname. He was born in the year 1592, and is said to have received under his paternal roof an education which, though by no means deficient in the ordinary scholastic studies, was peculiarly calculated to inspire him with a taste for polite literature, and to ground him in that long variety of nameless elegancies of mind and carriage which adorn courts, and grace private society. Thus qualified, he was presented to James the first, and at the age of eighteen was one of the Knights of the Bath appointed on the creation of Henry, Prince of Wales. He now became one of the most familiar attendants on the royal family, but a generous indifference, or a love of independence, kept him disengaged from any of those offices of specific employment which the degree of royal favour that he enjoyed might have insured to him. In 1617 he succeeded, on the death of his father, to the possession of a noble estate, and on the third of November, 1620, was raised to the Peerage by the titles of Lord Ogle, and Viscount Mansfield, the former of which might be considered as a mere anticipation, since he stood at that time in a certainty of the inheritance of the ancient Barony, to which he afterwards succeeded.

Charles the first, who regarded him with a real friendship, advanced him in 1627 to the Earldom of Newcastle on Tyne. In

spite of his carelessness of all the usual objects of courtly intrigue, he was now in some measure forced into the vortex of party. He excited the jealousy of Buckingham, and gained the friendship of Wentworth, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Strafford, to whom, as we find in the fine publication of that nobleman's letters, he used to unbosom himself with perfect freedom and confidence. The King, who, while he loved the one from mere habit, esteemed the other for his great talents, resolved to maintain Cavendish against the attacks of his favourite, and in 1638, most probably with Wentworth's advice, placed him in the important office of Governor to the Prince of Wales. For this exalted trust he possessed many proper qualifications: a lively and highly cultivated understanding, the strictest honour, an exact morality in his private conduct, the most refined politeness, and an œconomy so princely that the most unbounded profuseness on some particular occasions seemed not to interrupt its consistency. Such was his superb reception of the King and Court at his house of Welbeck, when Charles was on his way to his coronation in Scotland, which cost between four and five thousand pounds, and which, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "might have been thought very prodigious, had not the same noble person, within a year or two afterwards, made the King and Queen a more stupendous entertainment." This was at Bolsover Castle, at the expence, as his lady, who published some account of his life, informs us, of nearly fifteen thousand pounds.

The unhappily altered character however of the times soon after called on him for services and sacrifices of another order, and he performed them as nobly. When Charles, in the spring of 1639, levied an army in the northern counties with the view of awing the Scottish covenanters into obedience, the Earl assisted his pressing necessity for money by a free gift of ten thousand pounds, raising at the same time a body of horse, consisting of two hundred gentlemen whose esteem for him induced them to serve, wholly at their own expence, under his command, and with

the denomination of "the Prince's Troop." It is well known that all the measures taken for this expedition, which the King commanded in person, and in which not a single blow was stricken, were rendered abortive by a most ill-judged treaty of pacification. Newcastle's concern in it was therefore marked by no event but a quarrel, on a point of military ceremony, with the Earl of Holland, whom he challenged, and who disgraced himself by avoiding the meeting. Soon after his return, doubtless on a secret arrangement between the King and himself, he resigned his office of Governor to the Prince, his possession of which had excited much jealousy in the disaffected party, and retired to his estates, which lay almost wholly in that part of the country in which Charles meditated to use his services.

The King had foreseen the unhappy certainty of a civil war, and had determined to prepare for it amidst the loyalty of his northern subjects. He had therefore, on his way to London, deposited in the town of Hull all the arms and ammunition provided for the army which he had uselessly led into Scotland. He determined to intrust this important charge to the Earl, and dispatched to him, early in the year 1641, a commission for the government of that place, not to be used till the arrival of his Majesty's further orders, directing him however to visit the town in his private character, that he might inform himself of the state of things there, and of the disposition of the neighbouring country. He went, but Charles's intention having been betrayed to his enemies, he had not been three days in Hull when he was summoned by the Peers to attend his duty in their House, which he did, not in compliance with their order, but by the King's command, and the Parliament committed its first open attack on the royal prerogative by appointing a governor. In the beginning of the following year he met the King at York, and soon after took possession, with troops raised by himself, of Newcastle on Tyne, the King privately investing him at the same time with the command of the four northernmost counties.

On the twenty-fourth of August Charles set up his standard at Nottingham, and one of the first subsequent acts of the rebel Parliament was to declare, by name, Newcastle, and ten other eminent persons, excepted from any pardon, while the King, on his part, appointed him General of all forces to be levied in the counties north of Trent, and in those of Leicester, Cambridge, Rutland, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; authorizing him by his commission to confer knighthood, to coin money, and to publish such declarations as he might think proper. He presently found himself at the head of eight thousand men, with whom, having routed on his way a strong party of the enemy at a place called Pierce Bridge, he marched, in the beginning of December, to York, and, leaving a good garrison there, to Tadcaster, where the rebels were posted in considerable force, and with great advantage of ground. He had formed a plan for capturing the garrison, which is said to have failed through the unskilfulness of the officers to whom he intrusted the execution, but he succeeded in clearing that part of the county of the enemy, and, having now, more by his personal influence than by his operations in the field, made the King master of the whole of the country north of that point, applied himself vigorously to the augmentation of his forces and supplies, and, to provide against the probable errors of his own military inexperience, called to his aid General King, an old Scottish soldier of high reputation, whom he made Lieutenant-General of his army, and, to attach him the more effectually to the royal cause, prevailed on the King to advance him to the Peerage of his own country by the title of Lord Ethyn. The advantage thus gained was perhaps counterbalanced by the appointment of the wild and dissolute Goring to the command of the Horse, to which the Earl was compelled by the earnest solicitations of the Queen.

He had indeed obligations to that lady which, though chiefly of a public nature, he felt with the gratitude which is inseparable from a generous mind. She had employed herself ever since her

retirement to Holland in the beginning of the year 1641 in aiding that branch of the King's service to which he had peculiarly devoted himself; had sent him from time to time large sums of money, and supplies of arms and ammunition; had induced the Prince of Orange to furnish him with many of his best officers; and corresponded with him constantly with the confidence and familiarity of a private friend. This intercourse had not escaped the notice of the rebels, and it became a fashion among them to distinguish Newcastle's force by the appellations of "the Queen's army," and "the Catholic army." The prosperity of the King's affairs in the north encouraged her Majesty to return, at least to that part of the kingdom, in March 1643, and the Earl marched to Burlington, where she had landed, to protect her on her journey to York, signally vanquishing on his journey a large body of the enemy which had been posted to intercept an important convoy of ammunition on its way from Newcastle on Tyne to that city. While he was performing these duties, a detachment from his army, under the command of Goring, beat the troops of Fairfax, whom the Parliament had appointed to command in the north, and took eight hundred prisoners; and, following up that advantage, presently after gained another victory in the neighbourhood of Tankersley. The Earl, in April, took Rotherham by storm, and reduced Sheffield, and in the following month detached an escort of seven thousand cavalry and infantry to attend the Queen to Oxford, where Charles retained them. Notwithstanding this diminution of his force, and a more serious disadvantage which he suffered at the same moment at Wakefield, where Goring and his party were surprised and made prisoners, he gained, on the thirtieth of June, a complete victory over Fairfax's more numerous army at Adderton Heath, near Bradford, in which seven hundred of the rebels fell, three thousand were captured, and the town fell into his hands. He now made an excursion into Lincolnshire, where he took the city, and also the town of Gainsborough, while his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, very gallantly

carried Grantham, which the rebels had lately garrisoned, by assault; the Earl however returned within a few weeks into Yorkshire, where, on the twenty-eighth of August, Beverley surrendered to him, and he determined to lay siege to Hull, the only important post which remained to the Parliament in that part of the kingdom. Charles now rewarded his eminent services by a grant of the title of Marquis of Newcastle.

Amidst these successes however the termination of his military career was rapidly approaching. It was suddenly ascertained that the Scots, on whose recent professions of loyalty the King had with specious probability relied, were preparing to invade England, and Newcastle, whom circumstances had already compelled to abandon his design on Hull, and retire to York, sent a strong body of horse to the borders, to observe their motions, and, on receiving the news that they had commenced their march, led the most part of his forces into the Bishoprick of Durham, in January 1644, to await their arrival. Fairfax, taking advantage promptly of his absence, and aided by speedy reinforcements from the counties behind him, commenced the siege of Newark with determined vigour, and attacking at the same time at Selby Colonel Belasyse, a son of Lord Fauconberg, to whom the Marquis had left the command of his remaining troops, and of the city of York, completely defeated him, and took him prisoner, together with most of his officers. Newcastle instantly returned, and threw himself, with his infantry into York, rather with an earnest inclination than with any reasonable hope that he might be able to retain it, while the Scots, to whose march all interruption had been thus removed, now joined Fairfax, and the city was presently closely invested by the joint armies, to which was soon after added the force commanded by the Earl of Manchester, which on this occasion was led by Cromwell.

The Marquis was soon reduced to the most pressing necessities, and importuned the King for relief, but it came not till the end of June, when Prince Rupert arrived unexpectedly by the

rebels, and with a very inferior force compelled them to raise the siege in great disorder. Flushed by this success, and scarcely using the courtesy even to consult with Newcastle, who had before his coming agreed to relinquish the chief command to him, the Prince resolved to attack them in the field, joined the garrison of York to the main body of the army, and the fatal battle of Marston Moor ensued, on the second of July, in which, though the Scots were in the outset entirely routed, and their General, Lesley, captured, Fairfax and Cromwell, with the rebel horse, at length totally turned the fortune of the day, and gained a complete victory. Rupert immediately left that part of the country, taking with him Newcastle's cavalry, the infantry having been almost to a man killed, and the Marquis, having witnessed not only the annihilation of that army which had been raised by his own influence and enormous expenditure, but also the ruin of his master's affairs in the north, made the best of his way to Scarborough, with Ethyn, and some other of his officers, and embarked for Hamburgh.

The flight of the Marquis, who had been thus wholly blameless for the calamity of the day, was variously accounted for and censured. Lord Clarendon, who might be reasonably supposed to have competent means of judging of his motives, says—" all that can be said for him is that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his humour, nature, and education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it; and it was a greater wonder that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long than that he broke from it with so little circumspection." He had however long before conceived some disgust unknown to the noble historian, and perhaps to all others but Charles and himself, and seems but to have taken this opportunity of executing, without loss of honour, a resolution previously formed. We find in the Harleian collection the following effusion of friendly and angry

feelings, written wholly by the King's own hand, full three months before the battle of Marston Moor.

" Newcastell,

By your last dispach I perceave that the Scots are not the only, or it may be said the least, ennemies you contest withall at this tyme; wherfor I must tell you in a word, for I have not tyme to make longe discourses, you must as much contem the impertinent or malitius tonges and pennes of those that ar, or professe to be, your frends as well as you despise the sword of an equall ennemie. The trewth is if eather you or my L. Ethin leave my service, I am sure at least all the Northe (I speake not all I think) is lost. Remember all courage is not in fyghting; constancy in a good cause being the cheefe, and the despysing of slanderus tonges and pennes being not the least, ingredient. I'l say no more, but let nothing disharten you from doing that w^{ch} is most for your owne honnor, and the good of (the thought of leaving your charge being against bothe) your most assured, reall, constant frend.

CHARLES R."

Oxford, 5 *Ap.* 1644.

After sojourning for considerable periods at Hamburgh, Amsterdam, and Paris, he settled finally at Antwerp, where he resided for many years on means so scanty that, as his lady informs us, they were frequently obliged to pawn even their clothes to enable them to obtain common necessaries. The rebels in the mean time received his rents, felled his timber, and at length, in 1652, sold the whole of his estates, which, at little more than five years' purchase, produced one hundred and twelve thousand pounds. His loss thus sustained, together with the enormous sums which from time to time he had nobly devoted to the King's service, are credibly affirmed to have exceeded seven hundred thousand pounds. He beguiled the inconvenience and the weariness of his tedious exile by applying himself to literary composition of the

most sprightly order, in the society, and perhaps with the occasional aid, of his Countess, the most voluminous writer of her sex, and their mutual affection, which was exemplary, enhanced a congeniality of sentiment that they had severally received from nature. These elegant and retired studies, his adoption of which in truth denoted the greatness of his spirit, a late noble person has endeavoured to ridicule, in his Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, with less taste and justice than are commonly to be found in his censures, and with more than his usual spleen. "One does not know," says his Lordship, among other passages meant to be yet more severe, "whether to admire the philosophy or smile at the triflingness of this Peer, who, after sacrificing such a fortune for his master, and during such calamities of his country, could accommodate his mind to the utmost idleness of literature,"—a province so cherished and cultivated by the noble critic himself, that, as it should seem, he could not with common patience think even of the ghost of a departed possessor. The Marquis, it is true, could not claim all the higher attributes of a dramatic author, but it must be admitted that he was a close observer, and a faithful delineator, of the characters and manners of ordinary society, and even a master in the art of investing them with that dry humour which never fails to render comedy at least popular. He wrote four plays; the Country Captain; Variety; the Humorous Lovers; and the Triumphant Widow; but the work with which the recollection of his name is most frequently associated, because the subject is of almost universal interest, is a large treatise on the art of training and managing horses, in which he excelled. This has been repeatedly, and generally splendidly, published, as well in French as in English.

To return to the few circumstances which remain to be told of his public life—he continued abroad till the restoration, frequently visiting the little court of his exiled master, from whom he received in 1652 the Order of the Garter, and to whom he addressed soon after that period "a Treatise on the Government and the Interests

of Great Britain with respect to the other Powers of Europe," which seems to have remained unpublished. He returned with that Prince, after an absence of eighteen years, and persevering in the dignified contempt of office which had marked his early manhood, would accept of none but that of Chief Justice in Eyre north of Trent. On the sixteenth of March, 1664, he was elevated to the dignities of Earl of Ogle, and Duke of Newcastle. He passed the concluding years of his life chiefly in the country, where he found ample employment in the reparation of the cruel injuries to which his estates and mansions had been subjected, and abundant amusement for his leisure in the exercise of his pen; and, dying on the twenty-fifth of December, 1676, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a superb monument covers his remains. He was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Bassett, of Blore, in Staffordshire, and widow of Henry, third son of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk of the Howards, by whom he had three sons, and three daughters; William, who died an infant; Charles, whom he also survived; and Henry, who succeeded to his dignities, and in whom they became extinct. His daughters were Jane, wife of Charles Cheney, of Chesham Boys, in Bucks; Elizabeth, married to John Egerton, second Earl of Bridgewater; and Frances, to Oliver St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke. He married secondly, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lucas of Colchester, the lady frequently mentioned in the preceding pages, and of whom more may be found in another part of this work. She died childless.

Lord Clarendon, to whose gravity it would perhaps have been difficult to reconcile the whole of this nobleman's character, informs us that " he was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding, in which his delight was. Besides that, he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time;

and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune but honour, and ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and the security of the crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both, without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace. He had a particular reverence for the person of the King, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the Prince as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education, as his governor, for which office as he excelled in some, so he wanted other qualifications. He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a General, and preserved the dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward state and circumstances of it in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; but the substantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand, being utterly unacquainted with war, nor could submit to, but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant-General, King. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle, in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and fearlessness in danger, in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the day when his troops begun to give ground. Such actions were no sooner over than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon any occasion whatsoever, insomuch as he sometimes denied admittance to the chiefest officers of the army, even to General King himself, for two days together, from which many inconveniences fell out."

Engraved by H. T. Ryall.

SIR MATTHEW HALE.

OB. 1676.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN LINCOLN'S INN LIBRARY.

London, Published Octr. 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

SIR MATTHEW HALE.

Of one the business of whose life was comprised in the simple performance of professional duties, and whose hours of leisure were dedicated to the cultivation of religion, morality, and philosophy; whose public conduct was alike uninfluenced by the favour of a Court, or the fury of faction, and whose humble and modest piety sought not for fame in the vanities of controversy; little can be said with any reasonable hope of gratifying the cravings of ordinary curiosity.

Sir Matthew Hale descended from a family of respectable clothiers in Gloucestershire, and was the only child of Robert Hale, of Alderley, in that county, by Joan, daughter of Matthew Poyntz, of the same place, a younger son of the ancient baronial family of that name. His father had been bred to the bar, and is said to have quitted it because he could not reconcile to his conscience the practice of those perversions, denials, and disguisings, of truth for which the duty of a lawyer to his client is generally thought to furnish a sufficient apology: he retired therefore to his moderate estate in the country, where both himself and his wife died before his son, who was born on the first of November, 1609, had reached the age of five years. The young Matthew fell into the hands of Anthony Kingscot, a neighbouring gentleman of good family, and a near relation, but a vehement puritan, who not only placed him to receive the rudiments of a learned education with a zealous member of that profession, the parish priest, but procured for him at Magdalen Hall, in Oxford, of which he was entered in Michaelmas Term 1626, the tuition of the notorious Obadiah Sedgewick, perhaps the most furious and mischievous of the leaders of the party. To what extent Hale

became at that time impressed with their religious and political doctrines is not known, but it is clear that he imbibed none of the affectation of sanctimonious austerity by which the puritans sought to distinguish themselves, for we are told that the arrival at Oxford of a theatrical company induced him suddenly to abandon his studies; that he indulged with great freedom in the gaieties of youthful society; bestowed remarkable attention on his dress; and became an adept in the management of the sword and other methods of defence which were then fashionable: nay, that he would have entered as a volunteer into the army of the Prince of Orange but for an accident in his private affairs which will be presently mentioned. He had studied however with rapid success previously to the commencement of these excesses, which Sedgewick, to whom the patronage of a young man of independent fortune was then convenient, seems to have endured with great patience and complacency.

This sort of carriage left little hope of his submitting to take holy orders, which had been the intention of his guardian, and circumstances which occurred soon after totally extinguished that design. A suit in which he was engaged with a Sir William Whitmore, who claimed part of his estate, obliged him to go to London when he had been but three years at the University, to which he did not return. He had retained Serjeant Glanvill as his leading counsel, and in their frequent intercourse during this incidental connexion that celebrated lawyer observed in him talents so well formed for the study of jurisprudence, that he earnestly, and at length successfully, persuaded him to enter into the profession, and he was accordingly admitted of the society of Lincoln's Inn on the eighth of November, 1629. He now made ample amends for his past levity, and became a pattern of industry, studying, as is confidently said, even for several years together, sixteen hours daily. His improvement kept pace with his application, and he acquired considerable credit while he was yet a student. Noy, then Attorney General, sought his acquaintance,

and became so attached to him that it was usual to call him "young Noy." He was not less intimately known to the admirable Selden; to Vaughan, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and to many others of great eminence in various branches of science and literature as well as in the knowledge and practice of the law. Thus he was led to extend his labours into natural and experimental philosophy; became highly skilled in mathematics, and even in medicine and chirurgery; and joined to a proficiency in those studies, which unaccountably become too frequently the nurses of scepticism, a great extent of scriptural learning, and a desire so intense to explain and inculcate the means of religious and moral perfection, that his writings in that class alone would have sufficed, had he been a member of the sacred profession, to raise his reputation to the highest, as well for industry as for devotion, acuteness, and erudition.

He was called to the bar at the commencement of the great heats which preceded the grand rebellion, and attached himself to the royal cause with a calmness and moderation which were natural to him, and which, though his practice, in which he presently gained great fame, was almost confined to the causes of the King's friends, perhaps aided in procuring for him at least the forbearance of the contrary party: doubtless however the bias which he had, or was supposed to have, towards puritanism operated with greater effect; and that such was his inclination he gave at length the strongest possible proof by subscribing, as he did in 1643, that wretched code of mischief the Covenant, and by sitting in the assembly appointed by the Parliament to settle, as it was called, the government and liturgy of the Church of England. His unquestionable integrity so far counterbalanced the effect of these demonstrations that the royalists never withdrew from him their confidence in his professional fidelity. He was one of the counsel for Strafford, Laud, Hamilton, Holland, Capel, Craven, and others of them, and for the King himself, nor was he less trusted by the Parliament, which, amidst his engagements

in the defence of those who were the chief objects of its persecution, employed him in the important commission for the treaty of Oxford, and other matters which the party held of the highest interest to the welfare of their cause. In the exercise of these opposite services, which to any but a man of the purest intentions must have caused infinite embarrassment and caution, he displayed the most exalted magnanimity and independence. Using terms of great force and warmth in his defence of the Lord Craven, he was interrupted by Prideaux, the attorney general for the rebels, who directly charged him with opposing the government. He answered that he was pleading in defence of those laws which they had declared they would preserve and maintain; that he was doing his duty to his client, and was not to be daunted by threats. His history abounds in instances of this courageous frankness.

But we must ever seek in vain for human perfection. Hale, from no motive that can be divined but a desire to secure professional advancement, condescended, after the murther of Charles, to take the oath called "the Engagement," by which he bound himself, for such were the very words, "to be true and faithful to the Parliament established without a King, or House of Peers." On this painful subject I will only remark that he had lately in swearing to the Covenant undertaken (and here again the precise terms are quoted) "to preserve the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and to preserve and defend the King's person and authority;" and that he afterwards took the oath of allegiance to Charles the second. He now, without at any time however stepping out of the line of his profession, took a share in public affairs. In January, 1651, he was placed at the head of a commission appointed by the Parliament to consider of reformations necessary in the law, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, two years after, was appointed one of the Justices of the Common Bench, the name now given to the King's Bench by the rebels. We are told that he at first refused to accept that station; telling Cromwell that he "was not satisfied about his authority, and

therefore scrupled to accept the commission;" to which the other answered, "it is my desire to rule according to the laws of the land; but if you won't let me govern by red gowns, I am resolved to govern by red coats." Certain it is that his integrity never bent to the arbitrary will of the usurper. He sentenced a soldier to die for having killed a townsman of Lincoln who had refused to give up his gun, in obedience to an order of Cromwell's that none who had been of the King's party should carry arms, and sent the man to instant execution because he understood that a reprieve was on the way from London. He dismissed a jury which he rightly suspected to have been packed by Oliver's direction to carry a favourite purpose, and refused to try the cause. When his judicial proceedings against some anabaptists who had rushed into a church, and insulted a congregation receiving the sacrament, were interrupted by the interference of certain persons in power, he declared that he would sit no more on the Crown side, and kept his word, for when Cromwell expressly required him to assist at the trial of the brave Colonel Penruddock he positively refused.

He was one of the five members for the County of Gloucester in the first of Oliver's two bastard Parliaments, and sat for the University of Oxford in that called by Richard Cromwell, from whom however he refused to accept a commission as a judge, foreseeing probably the change which was at hand. He was again returned for Gloucestershire to the Parliament which restored monarchy, and when that great measure was proposed in the House of Commons, moved for a committee to examine the terms which had been offered to the late King, and the concessions that he had offered, with the view of prescribing conditions to Charles the second before he should be admitted to the throne, a motion the rejection of which was so nearly unanimous that it seems doubtful whether it was even seconded. Charles, if he were displeased by this proposal, and it could scarcely be otherwise, for once sacrificed his private feelings to the welfare and the

opinion of his subjects, for certainly no judge had ever before been so universally and so deservedly esteemed.—On the seventh of November, 1660, he appointed Hale Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and soon after, much against his will, knighted him. He appears indeed to have enjoyed the royal favour unimpaired during the remainder of his life, and yet the bias of his inclination was against the Crown. Dryden tells us that it was a common saying with the King that his servants were sure to be cast on a trial before Hale; and his affection to the dissenters, founded on early prejudice, though he never suffered it to relax the integrity of his judicial conduct, was continually betraying itself. Under these disadvantages, which it may safely be said would in that reign have barred the promotion of any lawyer who lived under it but himself, he rose to the head of his profession, and on the eighteenth of May, 1671, became Lord Chief Justice of England. He occupied that exalted seat little more than four years. In the autumn of 1674, a sudden inflammation, according to the report of his physicians, of the diaphragm, placed him in imminent danger of immediate death. He was partially recovered, but his constitution, naturally robust as it was, had received an irremediable shock. He was seized by an asthma which rendered the discharge of his public duties infinitely painful, and on the twenty-first of February, 1675-6, resigned his office. A dropsy succeeded, and having lingered till the twenty-fifth of the following December, he expired on that day, and was buried with his family at Alderley.

Of the powers of this eminent person's mind, and of his application of those powers to the duties of his profession, it is needless to speak. While the Law of England shall subsist they will be broadly and splendidly traced in the education of the student, the skill of the advocate, and the decisions of the bench. Let those who so profit by the dictates of his wisdom, and the results of his labour, dedicate to his memory that incense which will be most grateful to his venerable shade. Let them imitate

the intenseness and patience of his application; the candour as well as the acuteness of his argument; and the minute justice of his judgments: for all these he was equally celebrated. His conduct in all the relations of life was as pure as that which he displayed to public admiration; and the sweetness of his temper, the benevolence and simplicity of his heart, endeared him to the utmost to his family and dependants, and to his private intimates; yet, however excellent his nature, piety was indeed the vital principle of his character; a piety not recluse and contemplative, but so directing every action as to consecrate the most ordinary offices of his life. If to some the strictness of his religious observances should seem too severe, let it be remembered that this severity regarded himself alone, while with respect to others he was invariably charitable in opinion, and gentle in correction.

A single voice was raised against him several years after his death, and impartiality demands that the notes of censure which it uttered should not be here omitted. Roger North, in his memoirs of his brother, the Lord Keeper, bestows on the memory of Sir Matthew Hale a strange mixture, at great length, of praise and blame, from which I will give an extract of the most unfavourable passages. "While Hale was Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by means of his great learning, even against his inclination, he did the Crown more justice in that Court than many others in his place had done with all their good-will and less knowledge: but his foible was leaning to the popular: yet when he knew the law was for the King, as well he might, being acquainted with all the records of the Court, to which men of the law are commonly strangers, he failed not to judge accordingly. He was an upright judge, if taken within himself, and when he appeared, as he often did, and really was, partial, his inclination or prejudice, insensibly to himself, drew his judgement aside. His bias lay strangely for and against characters and denominations, and sometimes the very habits of persons. If one party was a courtier, and well-dressed, and the other a sort of puritan,

with a black cap, and plain clothes, he insensibly thought the justice of the cause with the latter. If the dissenting or anti-court party was at the back of a cause he was very seldom impartial, and the loyalists had always a great disadvantage before him. He became the cushion exceedingly well: his manner of hearing patient, his directions pertinent, and his discourses copious, and, though he hesitated often, fluent. His stop for a word by the produce always paid for the delay, and on some occasions he would utter sentences heroic. His vanity was excessive. He was a subtiliser, and an inventor of unheard-of distinctions, and exercising criticisms to get the better of known maxims of the law, and thereby to transmit great estates and interests from some persons and families to others. This over-ruling temper of his did not so much take place in small concerns, and in those between common men, for there his justice shined most, and armed him with a reputation that sustained his authority to do as he pleased in greater; whereby it seems that if he never had dealt in other but great causes, to hear and determine them, he might have been accounted the worst judge that ever sat: yet the generality, both gentle and simple, lawyers and laymen, did idolize him: his voice was oracular, and his person little less than adored, &c."

To the discredit of these censures, already suspicious enough, as they are wholly unsupported by any other testimony, the writer presently after unwarily furnishes an evident clue. The political opinions and the legal doctrines of the sages Hale and North were it seems at variance. Roger North, having disclaimed any invidious feeling, declares that his statement has been dictated merely by the love of truth; " first," says he, " in general, for all truth is profitable; and, secondly, in particular, for justice to the character I write of, against whom never any thing was urged so peremptorily as the authority of Hale; as if one must of necessity be in the wrong because another was presumed to be in the right. These two chiefs were of different opinions in matters of private

right, as well as touching the public; and if one was a Solomon, saint, or oracle, what must the other be taken for?" It is remarkable that Mr. North in this invective should have omitted the only two established charges which reflect unfavourably on the memory of Sir Matthew Hale, the one tending to detract from his probity, the other from his wisdom. The first has been already mentioned; the second is grounded on the lamentable fact that he sentenced to death at the spring assizes for Suffolk in the year 1664 two poor old creatures whom he had tried for witchcraft, and suffered them to be executed; the last act which occurred in England of that stupid and inhuman species of injustice.

Lord Chief Justice Hale was twice married; first to Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Moore, of Fawley, in Berks, who brought him ten children, of whom six lived to maturity; Robert, whose line ended in an heiress, married about forty years since to a Mr. Blagden, who assumed her surname, and whose posterity yet remains at Alderley; Matthew; Thomas; Edward; and two daughters; Mary, married first to Edward Adderley, of Innishannon in Ireland, secondly, to Edward Stephens, of Alderley, son of Edward Stephens, of Cherington, in Gloucestershire; and Elizabeth, wife of Edmund Webb, of Bagpath, in the same county, barrister at law. Sir Matthew's second wife was Anne Bishop, of Fawley, a servant in his family, by whom he had no children. In his will he gives the highest character of this worthy woman; entrusts to her care the breeding of the children of his eldest son, who died before him; and constitutes her one of his executors.

On subjects of religion, morals, and law, which were his studies, and in philosophy, history, and serious poetry, which may be deemed his relaxations, so numerous are the effusions of his pen, and so various and confused the accounts which we have of them, that to give with tolerable precision even an ordinary catalogue of his writings would be no light task. Large essays to that effect may be found subjoined to Bishop Burnet's slight sketch of

his Life, and in the Biographia Britannica, but much is omitted, and more misrepresented. The number of his printed works, considerable as it is, falls far short of that of the unpublished treatises which, as he made no peculiar disposition of them may be presumed to remain with his posterity; and the treasure of manuscripts which he bequeathed to the Society of Lincoln's Inn exceed both together, as well in extent as in value.

Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

GEORGE DIGBY, EARL OF BRISTOL.

OB. 1677.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE Rt HONBLE THE EARL SPENCER.

London, Published Oct.1 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

GEORGE DIGBY,

SECOND EARL OF BRISTOL.

Amidst the endless variety of characters by the invention of which romance-writers have amused the minds, or insulted the understandings, of their readers, we seek in vain for one wholly made up of inconsistencies — of a man, for instance, who, with the most splendid talents, lived regularly in the practice of absurdities; and who, with a kind and benevolent temper, made himself continually the instrument of injury and vexation to his friends; who, with a nice sense of honour, fell not unfrequently into the utterance of deliberate falsehoods; who abandoned in the face of the world a religion for which he had been a polemical champion, to adopt one which in his writings he had utterly condemned; and who, from a fervid popular orator and actor, became, as it were in a moment, a very type of courtly compliance. Such a character is of rare occurrence in nature, and the fabulist dare not trust his imagination to form it, lest he might be charged with representing a being absolutely out of nature — a reference however to the story of this nobleman's life would always guard him against such a censure.

George Digby was the eldest son of John, first Baron Digby, to whom the title of Earl of Bristol was granted in 1622, by Beatrice, daughter of Charles Walcot, of Walcot in Salop, and widow of Sir John Dive, of Bromham, in Bedfordshire, and was born in October, 1612, at Madrid, where his father was then the English Ambassador. The general diplomatic skill of that nobleman, and the intimate knowledge which he had acquired of the State and Court of Spain, induced James to send him again thither in the spring of 1622, intrusted with ample powers to nego-

tiate and conclude the treaty for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta. It is well known that the design was ruined when it was on the point of fruition by the imprudence and impetuosity of Buckingham. A furious discord ensued between Bristol and the favourite, through whose influence the Earl, on his return from Madrid in 1624, became the object of a tedious persecution, with which this memoir would have little concern, were it not for a singular circumstance which marked the commencement of it. Having been committed to the Tower immediately on his arrival in London, he formed the resolution, remarkable in those days, of appealing for redress to the House of Commons, and made his son the bearer of his petition. The child, for he was only twelve years old, and it seems of incomparable beauty, not only presented it at the bar with a graceful confidence which instantly attracted attention, but accompanied the action by the delivery of a few apt sentences, with a simplicity of feeling, and a correctness of fluent expression, which excited the astonishment of the House to the utmost.

His education had been conducted with the greatest care, on the continent, and after his return, under the immediate superintendance of his father; and on the fifteenth of October, 1626, he was entered a nobleman of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he remained for a few years, the wonder of his teachers, and the envy of his compeers, for the extent and variety of his natural talents, and of acquirements which he seemed to gain without effort. He then joined his father, who was at that time, and for several years after, living in a sort of honourable exile at his seat of Sherborne Castle, in Dorsetshire, and plunged into a course of reading so universal as to embrace almost every branch of literature. Nor was his pen unemployed during this season of retirement, which seems to have lasted even for some years. He wrote much and variously, though few of his productions were committed to the press, at least with his name. That which has been most spoken of is a modest and polite, though severe invective against the

Church of Rome, addressed to his kinsman, Sir Kenelm Digby, and not published till 1650; a discourse which seems however to have owed more of it's credit to the general reputation of the author, than to any distinct merit in itself. The public affairs of the time appear hitherto to have engaged no share of his attention, when an accident is said to have suddenly converted him into a political partizan. During one of his short occasional visits to London, a rencontre occurred between himself and a gentleman of the court, whom he wounded and disarmed, and the scene of their contest was unluckily within the precincts of the palace of Whitehall. He was immediately imprisoned, and proceeded against with a severity short only of the corporal mutilation ordained by the ancient law against such offenders. His fault thus expiated, he returned to his father, vowing vengeance against the Court, nor was it long before he found himself possessed of the most convenient means of inflicting it, for he was elected to serve for the county of Dorset, in the Parliament which met on the thirteenth of April, 1640.

Though this assembly was dissolved before it had sat a full month, Digby, ardent and acute as he was, had ample time to make himself known to the leaders of the faction which he intended to join, who, on their part, received with rapture an ally so promising. He was again returned for Dorsetshire to the Long Parliament, which met on the third of the succeeding November, and was immediately appointed by them to the important office of moving for a select committee to frame a remonstrance to the King on the public grievances, which he did, only six days after, in a speech of chaste and simple eloquence almost wholly new to that House. One passage, and that the most highly ornamented in the address, is so admirably conceived, and so artfully and elegantly expressed, that it may perhaps seem more necessary to apologise for the omission of others than for the insertion of this—" It hath been a metaphor," said he, " frequently in Parliament, and, if my memory fail me not, was made

use of in the Lord Keeper's speech at the opening of the last, that what money Kings raised from their subjects, it was but as vapours drawn up from the earth by the sun, to be distilled upon it again in fructifying showers. The comparison, Mr. Speaker, hath held of late years in this kingdom too unluckily. What hath been raised from the subject by those violent attractions hath been formed, it is true, into clouds, but how? to darken the sun's own lustre; and hath fallen again upon the land only in hailstones and mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our liberties, and to blast and wither our affections, had not the latter of these been kept alive by our King's own personal virtues, which will ever preserve him, in spite of all ill counsellors, a sacred object both of our admiration and our love."

This speech was followed in quick succession by others, equally bold, brilliant, and judicious, on all the great topics of complaint which distinguished that session. The admiration of those who governed the party was presently succeeded by their implicit confidence. They communicated to him all their plans, and admitted him to an equal share of their authority. Thus he became a chief instrument in the prosecution of Strafford, and it has been even said that the charge of high treason against that great man would have been abandoned but for the excitement produced by the close reasoning, and the polished bitterness, of Digby's invectives. Will it be believed that, even during the trial, on which he was one of the managers, he commenced a secret treaty with some of the royal party; proposed to abandon the malcontents, and to devote his services, generally and implicitly, to the Crown? and, to prove his sincerity, he conveyed to them, to be placed in the hands of the King, a most important original paper, which he had privily abstracted for that purpose from the mass of documentary evidence to be used against Strafford. The loss of the paper in question was taken up by the House with great seriousness, and an order was made that the members of the Committee for the prosecution should indi-

vidually make a solemn declaration of their utter ignorance of the cause of it's absence, which Digby is said to have performed with asseverations more earnest than any of the rest; yet a copy of it, in his own hand-writing, was found in the King's cabinet when it fell into the hands of the rebels at the battle of Naseby.

It is scarcely necessary to say that his overtures were received with much satisfaction. A little time and artifice however were required to give some air of decency to a defection so signal. Digby therefore continued to act with the prosecutors, but with an increasing coolness which excited their suspicion. At length, on the third reading of the bill of attainder, he avowed openly, in an incomparable speech, his determination to vote against it, on the impregnable ground of the infamy of Sir Henry Vane's evidence. The party, in a flame of anger, instantly resolved that he should give on the morrow an explanation of many passages in his speech, which with much plausibility and ingenuity he did, but, as might be expected, with no effect on the temper of the House. Preparations were evidently making there for more serious expressions of resentment, which the King prevented by calling him on the ninth of June, 1641, to the House of Peers, by a writ of summons. Digby now printed his speech; the Commons voted that it should be burned by the hands of the hangman; and he thought fit to put forth "an Apology," in which he affirmed that it had been published without his knowledge or consent, by his brother-in-law, Sir Lewis Dive. To deny that Digby's conduct as to Strafford's case was the result of conscientious deliberation, or to insist that the rest of his most sudden political conversion had any better motive than mere caprice, would perhaps be equally unreasonable.

Charles however was little less gratified by the manner in which Lord Digby had put himself into his hands than by the acquisition of a servant so highly gifted, for it was a fault, as Lord Clarendon informs us, in the nature of that unfortunate Prince to be "too easily inclined to sudden enterprizes." A stronger,

and far more important, mark of that disposition in him was at hand: Digby, without any communication with the ministers, had the presumption to advise, and the King the imprudence to adopt, that desperate measure of the well-known impeachments of the fifth of January, 1641-2; and here we have the most remarkable instances of the morbid irregularity, for such it seems, of the conduct of this extraordinary person. When the Attorney General accused Lord Kimbolton, the only Peer of the impeached party, at the bar of the Lords' House, Digby, who had pledged himself to the King to move for the instant commitment of that nobleman, seated himself by him, and "whispered him in the ear," says Clarendon, "that the King was very mischievously advised, and that it should go hard but he would know whence that counsel proceeded, in order to which, and to prevent further mischief, he would go immediately to his Majesty;" and to the King he went, but it was to advise him to consummate the fatal rashness of the whole proceeding by personally requiring the House of Commons to deliver up the five members; and, on the retreat of those persons, together with Kimbolton, into the city, Digby offered his service to seize them, with an armed force, and to convey them, dead or alive, wheresoever the King might be pleased to command, by whom however the proposal was rejected. All this presently became publicly known. Digby, now the most unpopular man in the kingdom, saw heavy clouds of vengeance on the point of breaking over him, as well as the hourly decreasing ability of his master to shield him from their influence. An interval of timidity occurred in its turn to this most inconsistent of mankind, and he fled to Holland.

The Commons now impeached him of high treason, and pursued the prosecution with great fury for some weeks, but the unwillingness of the Peers to entertain it, and the increasing confusion of the time, caused it at length to be wholly laid aside. Digby presently became weary of exile and inactivity. It is true that the Queen was in Holland, and that his intercourse with her

there had been highly serviceable to the Royal cause; but he had lived only in speculation, and now panted for personal exertion. He sailed therefore for England, and, landing on the northern coast, contrived to reach York undiscovered, where he had an interview with Charles, the result of which was that he should return to Holland, to make some most confidential communications to the Queen, and to expedite an expected supply of arms and ammunition. He re-imbarked in the vessel which had brought him, and which was presently after seized by a ship of the rebels, and brought into Hull. Disguised as a Frenchman, and speaking that language like a native, he lay in the hold, pretending extreme sickness, and there found means to destroy his papers. On being landed, he was confined alone, in consideration of his apparent weak state; and now, reflecting on the certainty of being eventually discovered, and on the dire vengeance which would inevitably follow, one of those sudden and romantic experiments so delightful to his nature occurred to him, and he practised it without delay. It is well known that Sir John Hotham was at this time governor of Hull, into which town, but a few weeks before the capture of Lord Digby, he had rudely and obstinately refused to admit his royal master. Hotham was a man of coarse mind and manners, and of a sullen and intractable temper; his attachment to the rebel cause may be inferred from the trust with which the Parliament had invested him, and from his late conduct towards the King; and he is even said to have had a personal aversion to the noble prisoner. Digby resolved to throw himself on the generosity of this unpromising person. He told his guard, in broken English, that he was possessed of secrets relative to the King and Queen of great importance to the service of the Parliament, which he would disclose only personally to the governor. The news was presently carried to Hotham, who ordered that the Frenchman should be brought before him. The room was full of company, and Digby entertained them for some time with fabricated French news in the

most natural manner imaginable, till Hotham chose to withdraw him to some distance, when, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "Digby asked him, in English, whether he knew him. The other, surprized, told him no: 'then,' said he, 'I shall try whether I know Sir John Hotham; and whether he be in truth the same man of honour I have always taken him to be;' and thereupon told him who he was; and that he hoped he was too much of a gentleman to deliver him up a sacrifice to their rage and fury who he well knew were his implacable enemies." The governor, with all his faults, had feelings which were not proof against such an appeal. He concerted with Digby the means for his safety; who, on his part, had the address, in subsequent interviews, even to induce Hotham to listen patiently to overtures for his return to his duty to the Crown, which he would have done, but for some untoward circumstances which soon after occurred.

Digby now appeared openly with the King at York. He soon after raised a regiment of Horse, which he commanded with distinguished gallantry at the battle of Edge-Hill, and then at the siege of Lichfield, in which he exposed himself to the greatest dangers, and was shot with a musquet ball through the thigh. On a disagreement with Prince Rupert, who led the forces which performed this latter service, he threw up his regiment in disgust, and returned to the Court, which was then at Oxford, where a fruitless treaty between the King and the Parliament, by an article of which the rebel commissioners had insisted on excepting him from pardon, was then in progress, or very lately broken up. The inveterate and unceasing malice of the Parliament against him naturally fixed him more firmly in the esteem of the King, who now longed to give him some signal proof of approbation and confidence. An opportunity presently offered, but, in the mean time Digby, no longer a commander, joined the army as a volunteer, and in a sharp engagement with the van of Essex's army, on Aldbourne Chace, near Hungerford, was desperately hurt by the discharge of a pistol in his face, though miracu-

lously missed by the ball. This action was immediately succeeded by the first battle of Newbury, on the twentieth of September, 1643, in which fell the Lord Falkland, and Charles presently after appointed him to succeed that incomparable nobleman in the office of a principal Secretary of State. He was about the same time elected High Steward of the University of Oxford.

Digby, with most of the talents and qualifications necessary to the advantages and the decoration of private life, possessed scarcely a single requisite for the character of a minister of state except dissimulation, and his conduct in it was not less unfortunate than imprudent. A project which he conceived in the winter of 1643 for a treaty between the King and the City of London, in it's corporate capacity, hopeless enough in it's own nature, was frustrated by the interception of letters; and he was soon after compleatly gulled by Brown, a rebel general, who commanded a strong garrison in Abingdon, and ensnared him into a negotiation for the delivery of that town to the King, merely to gain time for the putting it into a better state of defence for the Parliament. So too, in October, 1645, presuming on the brilliant but brief military successes of the Marquis of Montrose, he entered into an intercourse with Lesley, and some other commanders of the Scottish forces in England, without having previously gained any competent knowledge of the disposition of those officers, with the view of inducing them to bring over their army to the royal cause; and was surprized when he discovered that the crafty and treacherous Lesley had imparted their correspondence, step by step, to the leaders of the rebellion. About this time, at his suggestion, as it was believed, the King obliged Prince Rupert to resign his command, and appointed Digby Lieutenant General of all his forces north of Trent. There was a suddenness and singularity in this unexpected arrangement which suited the taste both of Charles and himself. It was agreed, as Lord Clarendon relates, at a Council of war held at

Newark, that Sir Marmaduke Langdale should lead the Horse northwards, and attempt to reinforce Montrose, when Sir Marmaduke, on accepting the charge, besought the King that he might be allowed to execute it under the command of the Lord Digby, who, being present, and making no objection, the King conferred it on him, and immediately signed a short commission, "and so," says Clarendon, "he became in a moment a General, as well as a Secretary of State, and marched presently to Doncaster." The very day following his arrival there he attacked and dispersed a large body of newly raised troops, and, pursuing his success, encountered a few days after, with a part of his Horse, and routed a strong force of rebel cavalry near a neighbouring town called Sherborne, in which he had left the remainder of his little army. These, mistaking the fugitive enemy for their own fellows, were seized with a panic, and fled also, and Digby, who had been left on the field by the pursuers, with a few of his principal officers about him, was charged by a single troop of the rebels which remained unbroken, and forced to retreat with severe loss, and much difficulty, to Skipton, leaving in their hands his baggage, and his coach, in which were his private papers, many of which the Parliament caused to be printed. At Skipton he re-assembled great part of his forces, and marched with them into Scotland, where, equally unable either to join the Marquis of Montrose, who had been obliged to retreat, or to retrace his own steps, Lesley's army having posted itself on the borders, he took the sudden resolution to leave his men, and embark for the Isle of Man, from whence he went to Ireland: "and thus," says Clarendon again, "was the generalship of the Lord Digby brought to an end; but the temper and composition of his mind was so admirable that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own virtue and conduct, than broken or dejected that his success was not answerable, which he still charged upon second causes for which he thought himself not accountable."

He was received in Ireland, where he arrived in the beginning of 1646, by the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Ormond, with the distinction due to his rank, and to his office, and without delay applied himself to the invention of a scheme for the composition of the raging factions which then distracted that always unhappy country. While thus busily employed, it happened that the Prince of Wales, who had lately fled to the Isle of Scilly, requested Lord Ormond to send thither some trusty officers and men, to serve as a guard for his person. Digby, to whom the Prince's sojournment there was till now unknown, instantly altered his plan, and intreated the Lord Lieutenant to invite him to Ireland, which Ormond, though somewhat favourably struck by the idea, declined. Digby therefore put himself on board of one of the frigates appointed to convey the required troops to Scilly, and finding, on his arrival, that the Prince had removed to Jersey, followed him thither, and presenting himself, without the smallest previous intimation, laid his designs and his reasonings before him at large, and concluded by conjuring his Royal Highness to embark in one of the ships, and sail immediately to Dublin. The Prince, as might have been certainly expected, replied that such a step demanded due deliberation, on which Digby is said to have applied himself to a member of Charles's Council, with whom he had a close intimacy, and to have seriously proposed to him to join him in seizing Charles's person, and carrying him by force to Dublin. Meeting of course with a flat denial, he transported himself without delay to Paris, where the Queen had taken refuge, doubting not that he should be able to persuade her to patronise his design for the Prince's expedition to Ireland, though fully conscious of her earnest desire that his Royal Highness should join her in France. Finding her deaf to his arguments, he negotiated to the same purpose with Cardinal Mazarin, who affected to favour his suggestions, flattered him, deceived him, and furnished him with a moderate sum to be applied to the service in Ireland, most of which he expended on

his way thither, at Jersey, in new, but ineffectual, efforts to accomplish his favourite plan. On his arrival in Dublin he found affairs in the most hopeless state, and, as difficulties always increased his ardour, redoubled his efforts to settle them with advantage to the royal cause. He was thus earnestly engaged when commissioners arrived from the rebel Parliament to demand the surrender of the island, which immediately followed, when he escaped with some difficulty, and returned to France.

Digby being now obliged to fly from Ireland, and the King's affairs having become utterly hopeless, he returned to France, with scarcely more than the means of ordinary subsistence. He met with a better reception there from the Cardinal than from those of his own country, and, on some encouragement offered by that Prelate, determined on entering the army, then engaged in what was called the war of the Frondeurs. Distinguished as he was already by military bravery to need any further recommendation, his natural impatience would not allow him to wait for a commission, and he joined the French cavalry in the field as a volunteer. On that very day he accepted from an unknown officer of the Frondeurs one of those chivalrous challenges to single combat so common in the warfare of that time, and was treacherously fired on by the troop to which his antagonist belonged, and severely wounded. It occurred not only in the sight of both armies, but of the King and his Court, and the praise and indignation of all were instantly excited in his favour. "He was the discourse," eloquently says the authority now before me, "of the whole Court, and had drawn the eyes of all men upon him. His quality, his education, the handsomeness of his person, the beauty of his countenance, his alacrity and courage in action against the enemy, the softness and civility of his manners, his profound knowledge in all kinds of learning, and in all languages, in the manifestation of which he enlarged or restrained himself as circumstances directed, rendered him universally acceptable." A gallant troop of Horse, composed chiefly of English gentlemen,

was immediately raised for him. They were soldiers of fortune; plunged into deep necessity by the miseries of their country. He raised their expectations to the highest pitch by promises of advantage which he could have no hope of fulfilling, and on the strength of which they squandered the very small means which they had retained. They abandoned him in anger and disgust, and he was soon left with only the name of a commander, but his favour at Court remained unimpaired, and indeed he became one of Louis's chief military counsellors. He was raised to considerable rank and power in the French army, and obtained a most lucrative monopoly of licences for the transport of persons and property to Paris on all the rivers of France. In the mean time his father, who had also fled to that country, died, and he succeeded to the Earldom of Bristol, and Charles the second, in whose exiled Court he had been on his first coming coldly received, about the same time gave him the Garter.

In a land where title and dignity were then in a manner worshipped, the addition of these honours seemed to complete his advantages, for he already possessed a splendid income. New singularities however now took possession of him. He seemed to have become a miser; lived with scandalous meanness; and was even rapacious in his eagerness to possess himself of money. It was supposed that he was amassing wealth, when he was actually in the deepest penury. He had secretly given way at once to amorous dissipation, and to the practice of gaming, and indulged in both with the most unbounded extravagance. The bitter inconvenience produced by these excesses worked their cure, and he soon reverted to ambition, which was in fact his ruling passion. The Cardinal, to whom the delightful variety of Bristol's talents had now really endeared him, on being forced in 1650 by the fury of faction for a time to quit France, recommended him earnestly to the Queen Regent, not only as one on whose zeal for himself in his absence he could entirely depend, but whom she might safely trust in the most important affairs.

Bristol was no sooner apprized of this friendly testimonial than he conceived the idea of supplanting the Cardinal in her favour, and of making himself prime minister of France. He instituted all sorts of intrigues to this end, and at length spoke to the Queen on the subject with so little reserve that she determined to punish his arrogance and ingratitude by instantly disclosing them to Mazarin, and, on the return of that Prelate, he was dismissed, with a small present of money, from all his employments.

He now made a short visit to his own Prince and his countrymen at Bruges, and then wandered in a state of positive destitution, into the Spanish camp in the Netherlands, where he was well known by reputation, and therefore mueh disliked. Not a feature of his character was in unison with any of the habits or prejudices of that serious people; but this was not all: he had lately commanded in that country a squadron of French Horse, which had signalised itself by every enormity that could disgrace military service, and his very name was odious to the Flemings, as well as to the Spanish army. Such however was the fascination, if the expression may be allowed, of which this extraordinary man was master, that he removed, even within a very few weeks, all the prejudices which had been conceived against him; became the intimate companion of the principal officers; and even the confidential friend of their leader, the celebrated Don John of Austria. The estimation thus acquired he shortly enhanced tenfold, by obtaining, through the means of a secret correspondence with the garrison, the important surrender of the strong fortress of St. Ghislain, near Brussels, which had long baffled the military efforts of the Spaniards. He was largely rewarded for this service, and, as a further gratification, Don John, at his request, applied to the King of England to restore to him the office or rather the title, for it was then little more, of a Secretary of State, which had lapsed on the demise of the late King, and in which Charles, to whom Bristol had contrived to magnify his own influence in Spain, now readily re-instated him. He was scarcely

in possession of it when he forfeited it by publicly embracing the Catholic faith, which he did with abundance of apparent circumstances of pious conviction, some of which however were of a nature to render the sincerity of his conversion very suspicious, and thus he lost for a time the favour of the King, without increasing his credit with the Spaniards, which was the point at which he aimed in this unexpected change. He was however permitted to attend Charles in 1658 on his journey into Spain, where he presently conciliated the regard of the chief minister, Don Lewis de Haro, whom he had hitherto considered his enemy, and was induced by his bounty to remain at Madrid, as he did, seemingly unemployed, till the restoration of Monarchy in England.

He returned, overflowing with hope and expectation; his ambition and activity unchilled, and his eccentricity uncorrected. So extravagantly sanguine was his disposition, and such his confidence that the State must of necessity sue for the benefit of his services, that the almost certain disadvantage of his late change of religion seems not to have occurred to his mind. It operated however powerfully against him. He was not appointed to any office either in the State or the Court, and therefore presently adopted the practice, which has been ever since used with increasing energy in such cases, of opposing and decrying both. Thus he laboured to obstruct Charles's treaty of marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, and had the address to prejudice the King against her, and in favour of two young ladies of the Medicean family, whom he had recommended for the King's choice, insomuch that his Majesty sent him privately into Italy to ascertain and to report to him the degree of their pretensions. During his absence Charles became reconciled to the Portuguese match, which Bristol, perhaps rightly attributing chiefly to the influence of the Chancellor, with whom he had hitherto lived in long and strict friendship, conceived an implacable resentment against that great and good man. In the same spirit, and with his accus-

tomed inconsistency, he laboured, openly and secretly, to overthrow the Bill for the restoration of the Bishops to Parliament, their exclusion from which no man had more deeply and constantly lamented than himself. In the mean time however he had the address to gain no small share of Charles's confidence, and in 1663 was engaged in an intrigue, doubtless with his private concurrence, to increase the King's party, so called to distinguish it from the minister's majority, in the House of Commons. He appears to have been basely deserted on this occasion by Charles, who, to appease the anger excited there by the discovery, solemnly disowned all knowledge of the matter by a message to the House. Bristol desired to be admitted to make an explanation at the bar, which he did, with such modest courage; such force of reasoning; and such exquisite beauty of expression; that the House, in the face of it's clear conviction of his misdemeanor, declared itself satisfied. In the course of this admirable speech he took occasion to apologize shortly for his late change in religious profession. "I am a Catholic," said he, "of the Church of Rome, but not of the Court of Rome: no negotiator there of Cardinal's caps for his Majesty's subjects and domestics: a true Roman Catholic as to the other world, but a true Englishman as to this: Such a one as, had we a King inclined to that profession (as, on the contrary, we have one the most firm and constant to the Protestant religion that ever sat upon the Throne) I would tell him as freely as the Duke of Sully, being a Protestant, told his grandfather, Henry the fourth, that, if he meant to be a King, he must be a constant professor and maintainer of the religion established in his dominions."

In resentment probably of Charles's conduct towards him in this affair, he attacked that Prince presently after, in a private audience, with an intemperance of language perhaps never before nor since used by a subject to a Sovereign. On receiving a denial of some request, he burst into the most bitter invectives; reproached the King with his idleness and debaucheries, and

the meanness of his submission to the dictation of the Chancellor; and concluded by threatening that if the point in question should not be conceded to him within twenty-four hours, he would do "somewhat that should awaken the King out of his slumber, and make him look better to his own business." A very few days passed before this menace was fully explained. On the tenth of July, 1663, he preferred a charge of High treason in the House of Peers against Lord Clarendon, comprised in twenty-four articles, which the House, having for form's sake submitted to the Judges, afterwards rejected with scorn. The King, now irreparably offended, issued a warrant for his apprehension, and he fled, and remained concealed, or rather affecting to conceal himself, for nearly two years, when Charles was prevailed on by the Duchess of Cleveland to admit him to a private audience. Here, with the exception of a final act of characteristic inconsistency, his voting in Parliament in 1673 for the Test Act, closed his public life. He died on the twentieth of March, 1676-7, at Chelsea, in Middlesex, and was there buried, having had issue, by Anne, second daughter of Francis Russell, fourth Earl of Bedford, John, his successor, in whom the dignities became extinct; Francis, who was killed at sea in the Dutch war in 1672; Diana, married to Baron Moll, a Flemish nobleman; and Anne, to Robert Spencer, second Earl of Sunderland.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

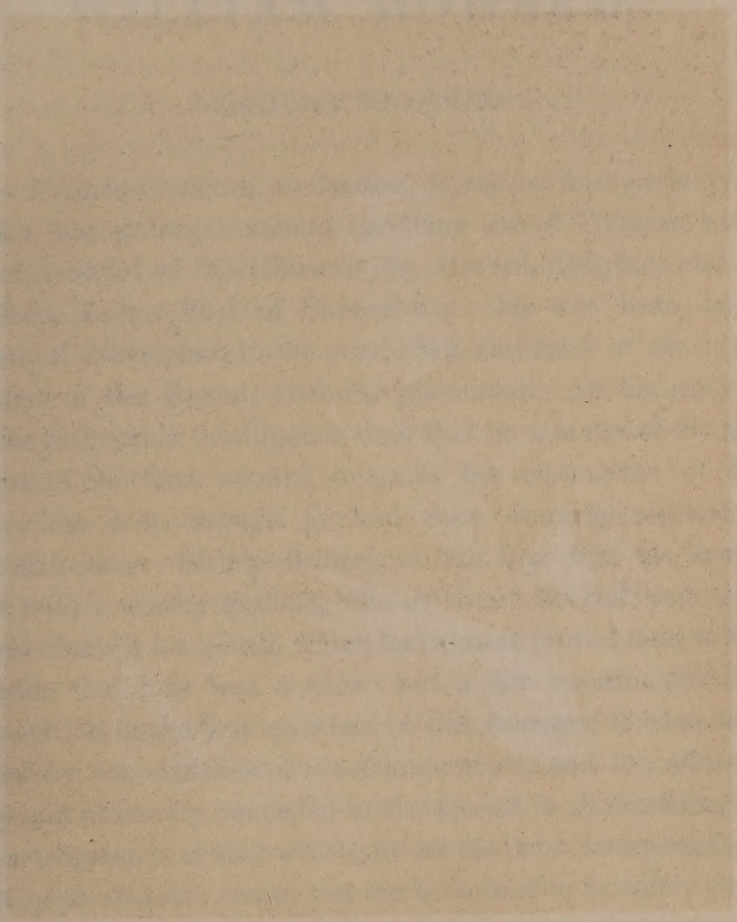
WILLIAM HOWARD, VISCOUNT STAFFORD.

OB. 1680.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BUTE.

London, Published Oct. 1, 1830, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



WILLIAM HOWARD,

VISCOUNT STAFFORD.

THIS illustrious victim to faction, injustice, and perjury, was the fifth, but at length second surviving son of Thomas, second Earl of Arundel of the Howards, by Alathea, daughter and heir of Gilbert Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury. He was born on the thirtieth of November, in the year 1612, and bred in the utmost strictness of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Of his early age we have little other intelligence than that he was one of the many Knights of the Bath created to grace the coronation of King Charles the first, though he had then scarcely reached his fourteenth year. Bishop Burnet, in the fear that his memory might remain wholly spotless, tells us that "he had been guilty of great vices in his youth, which had almost proved fatal to him," and adds that "he was a weak, but a fair conditioned man." The assertion in the first member of this sentence is abundantly falsified by the evidence of a solemn record, and the allowance coldly and obscurely conceded in the second is an unwilling half-acknowledgement of that which, to use the best interpretation of the Bishop's singular terms, was too notorious to be safely denied. He was in fact a man of clear and strong understanding; of strict honour and probity, and of the mildest and quietest character and habits; eminently polite and sweet tempered.

When he was nearly thirty years old he married Mary, sister and heir of Henry, last Lord Stafford of that surname, heir male to the once mighty ducal House of Buckingham, and in consequence of that match the title of Baron Stafford was conferred on him by a patent dated the twelfth of September, 1646, and on the twelfth of November, in the following year, he was advanced

to the dignity of a Viscount. His marriage however was more honourable than lucrative, for the great estates of his Lady's family had suffered cruelly by confiscations, and, having himself but a younger brother's fortune, he was obliged to live with as much frugality and privacy as the fair maintenance of his rank would permit. The same impediments rendered him in a great measure incapable of aiding his Sovereign with troops or money during the rebellion, but his heart was devoted to the royal cause, of which he otherwise gave ample testimony. "In the beginning of the late unhappy times," said he, in the course of his defence on the sad occasion which will presently be spoken of, "the late King did me the honour to make me a Peer, and, thinking that my presence might rather prejudice than serve him, my wife and I settled at Antwerp when the war began, where I might have lived, though obscurely, safely; but I was not satisfied in my conscience to see my King in so much disorder and I not endeavour to serve him what I could to free him from his troubles, and I did come into England, and served his Majesty faithfully and loyally as long as he lived; and some of your Lordships here know whether I did not wait upon the new King in his exile, from which he was happily restored." Whatever were his exertions, they remained unrequited after the restoration. He became disgusted, and, espousing for a time that party of which the acute and perfidious Shaftesbury was the oracle, frequently opposed in the House of Peers, but with becoming moderation, the measures of the Court: being qualified however neither by nature or habits for political warfare or intrigue, he soon abandoned them, and returned to the inoffensive comforts of a private life.

In the autumn of the year 1678 Titus Oates, at the head of that small but dreadful band of transcendant villains who had been hired and suborned to make a desperate and almost general attack on the most eminent Catholics in England, not excepting the Queen herself, accused this nobleman of high treason. As

soon as the intelligence reached Stafford, which was on the twenty-fifth of October, he went to the House of Lords, and told them that he had heard of a warrant having been issued to apprehend him; the Lord Chief Justice informed the House that he had signed it the day before; Stafford then surrendered himself, and was committed to the Tower, together with the Earl of Powis, and the Lords Petre, Arundel of Wardour, and Bellasyse, all Catholic Peers, who were also charged with treason by the same parties. They remained in close imprisonment for two years, frequently petitioning to be put on their defence, or admitted to bail, when it was at length determined to select from them an individual for tryal, and Stafford was chosen, "on account," as Roger North tells us in his Examen, "of his age, and the gentleness of his nature, in the hope that he might be readier than the others to make a confession."—"He was deemed," says Reresby, "to be weaker than the other Lords in the Tower, and was therefore purposely marked out to be the first brought on, but he deceived them so far as to plead his cause to a miracle."

He was impeached by the Commons, and brought to tryal in Westminster Hall on the thirtieth of November, 1680, which happened to be the anniversary of his birth-day. The Earl of Nottingham, Keeper of the Great Seal, officiated as Lord High Steward with becoming humanity and impartiality. The managers for the Commons, mostly lawyers, and particularly the ancient republican Maynard, who led them, exceeded in virulence and asperity even the large latitude commonly allowed to persons in their situation. The witnesses had contrived, with the usual caution of experienced perjurers, to make their charges as few and simple as possible, and to avoid all statement of collateral facts. Two of them, Dugdale and Turbervile, swore that Stafford had offered them large sums to assassinate the King; the others, Oates and Bedlow, that he had received from the Pope a patent appointing him paymaster-general of the army

which they said was to be immediately after employed to awe the Protestants, and subvert the government. In spite however of their caution, when they were pressed on points of time and locality they became utterly confounded, and perhaps no instance can be found in the records of juridical enquiry of a more complete exposure of false testimony in the hour in which it was given, not to mention the infamy fixed on their general characters by many credible witnesses. Stafford cross examined them with much acuteness and presence of mind, and affected even his enemies by the sound reasoning, and the simple and candid method of his defence, as well as by the modest dignity and composure of his whole demeanour.

The tryal occupied five days, during the whole of which the King was present. Charles secretly wished him well, and had even solicited votes for his acquittal, though the Duchess of Portsmouth, probably bribed, had taken the contrary course. The ministers however thought it necessary to devote one victim of high rank to the then reigning humour, not less of the Parliament than of the people, and, to the indelible disgrace of the majority of the eighty-six Peers that day present, fifty-five found him guilty. When the Lord High Steward declared the numbers, and asked him the usual question, "Why sentence of death should not pass on him," he answered, with a noble simplicity, "My Lord, I have little to say. I confess that I am surprised at it, for I did not expect it; but God's will be done: I will not murmur at it. God forgive them that have sworn falsely against me." Some days after the tryal, his relations, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Lord Howard of Escrick, both of whom, by the way, in the horrible excess of party rage, had voted against him, were sent to him in the Tower by the whig faction, in the hope of extracting from him some matters wherewith to criminate their chief opponents. "They only wanted," says James himself, in his notices of his own life, published by Macpherson, "to get somewhat out of him against the Duke of York." The result was

that he allowed them to inform the House of Lords of his willingness to discover all that he knew, and he was immediately called to their bar; but he had nothing to disclose beyond the agitation of certain plans which the Catholics had laid to procure a reasonable toleration, and the names of some eminent persons who had aided their views to that effect; "and then," to use the words of Burnet, "he named the Earl of Shaftesbury; and when he named him he was ordered to withdraw, and the Lords would hear no more from him." Such in those fearful days was the partiality openly manifested even by that venerable branch of the legislature.

The only favour shewn to Lord Stafford was the allowance of the axe, instead of a method of execution more ignominious. Will it be believed that one who was destined soon to follow him; a man who was and is little less celebrated for the kindness of his nature, and indeed for all private virtues, than for his detestation of tyranny and oppression; should have strongly opposed this wretched final mitigation? Yes, it will be believed, for we have it from the pen of Mr. Fox, who, with a candour and love of historical truth highly creditable to his memory, tells us, in his "Memoirs of James the second," without saying from what source he derived the anecdote, that Lord Russell "stickled for the severer mode of executing the sentence." For the rest, his enemy, Burnet, informs us that "he supped and slept well the night before his execution, and died without any shew of fear or disorder." "He perished," says Sir John Reresby, "in the firmest denial of what had been laid to his charge; and that in so cogent, convincing, and persuasive a manner, that all the beholders believed his words, and grieved his destiny." Lord Stafford was beheaded on Tower Hill on the twenty-ninth of December, 1680.

The commencement and the conclusion of the succeeding reign were marked by acts of justice to the memory and family of this ill-fated Nobleman. On the third of June, 1685, the Peers passed a bill reversing his attainder, the preamble to which

declared that he had been convicted on false testimony; and on the fifth of October, 1688, Henry, his eldest son, was created Earl of Stafford, with remainder, in default of male issue, to his brothers in succession, and their heirs male respectively; and the widow of the deceased Viscount was by the same patent advanced to the title of Countess of Stafford for her life, with rank to her daughters accordingly. They left a numerous issue, three sons and six daughters, of whom, especially as the male line has been for several years extinguished, I will speak somewhat more largely than usual. Henry, the eldest son, who has been just now mentioned, left England with King James the second; was married at St. Germains, on the third of April, 1694, to Claude Charlotte, eldest daughter to Philibert, Count de Grammont, and died childless on the nineteenth of April, 1719. John Stafford, second son, died before his elder brother, having married, first, Mary, daughter of Sir John Southcote, of Merstham, in Surrey, by whom he had William, second Earl of Stafford; John Paul, who, as we shall see, at length succeeded to that title; Mary, wife of Francis Plowden, of Plowden in Shropshire; Xaveria and Louisa, who were nuns. By his second Countess, Theresa, daughter of Robert Strickland, he had a son, Edward, who died without issue; and a daughter, Harriet, who married a M. Crebillon. Francis, the third son, who also attended the deposed King in his exile, and served him in the office of a groom of the bedchamber, married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Stanford, of New Inn, in Staffordshire, and left an only son, Henry, who, took to wife one of the daughters of Bartholomew Berkeley, of Spetchley, in the county of Worcester, and died without issue.

Of the Viscount Stafford's daughters, Alathea, the eldest, took the veil; the second, Isabella, became the wife of John Poulett, fourth Marquis of Winchester; Ursula and Mary, the third and fourth, were also nuns; Anastasia, the fifth, was married to George Holman, of Warkworth, in the County of Northampton; and Helena, the youngest, died in infancy.

William, son and heir of John Stafford Howard, succeeded, as

has been stated, to the titles on the death of his uncle, Earl Henry, in 1719. He married his first cousin, Anne, daughter of Mr. Holman, by his wife the Lady Anastasia. He died in France, in January, 1734, and was buried in the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris, leaving an only son, William Matthias, and three daughters; Mary Apollonia Scholastica, wife of Guy Augustus, Count de Rohan Chabot; Anastasia and Anne, nuns of the third order of St. Francis, in Paris. William Matthias succeeded to his father, William; married in June, 1743, Henrietta, daughter of Peter Cantillon; died childless on the twenty-eighth of February, 1750, and was buried at Arundel, in Sussex; whereupon his uncle, John Paul, second son of John, who was next brother to Henry, the first Earl, became sole heir male, and fourth Earl of Stafford. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Abraham Ewens, of the county of Somerset, and dying without issue on the first of April, 1762, was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. Thus this junior male line of the House of Howard became extinct.

Engraved by P. Lightfoot.

JOHN LESLIE, DUKE OF ROTHES.

OB. 1681.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF ROTHES.

London, Published Jan^y 1.1834 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN LESLIE,

DUKE OF ROTHES.

The Duke of Rothes, for that title was never held by any other person, was the only son of John Leslie, fifth Earl of Rothes, by Anne, second daughter of John Erskine, eighth Earl of Mar. He was born in the year 1630, and succeeded to the titles and estates of his ancestors when in the eleventh year of his age. The loss of his parents, for his mother also had died in the preceding year, thus in his childhood, was a misfortune the effects of which attended him through life, for, having been early betrothed to the eldest daughter of the Earl of Crawford, he went soon after his father's death to live in that nobleman's family, where his education was almost wholly neglected. In 1650, he emerged at length from a privacy which, however ill-suited to his active spirit, a mild and placid temper had enabled him to bear with patience. He now took up his residence, with becoming splendor, at Leslie, the mansion of his forefathers, and on the arrival of Charles the Second in Scotland from his exile in Holland, was among the first to wait on that Prince, to whose grace the fidelity and important services of his father to the late King had given him peculiar pretensions. These merits were afterwards amply acknowledged, and Charles, who had at this period only compliments to bestow, gave him the sword of State to carry at the Coronation, which took place in that country on the first of the following January.

In the succeeding month, the Scottish Parliament having resolved to raise an army for the restoration of the monarchy, this young nobleman equipped from his dependants in the county of Fife a regiment of horse, at the head of which he accompanied

Charles to Worcester, where, in the unfortunate battle of the third of September, 1651, he fell into the hands of the rebels, and was sent a prisoner, with some others of the nobility of his country, to the Tower of London. There, at Newcastle on Tyne, and in some other places, he remained in strict custody till the summer of 1655, when Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart, a woman not less remarkable for her intriguing spirit than for her beauty, and one of the few towards whom Cromwell is said to have betrayed an amorous inclination, procured his release, through her influence over the usurper, and he was permitted to return to Scotland. He remained there, unmolested, and perhaps inactive, till the beginning of January, 1658, when, probably on some political suspicions, but professedly to prevent the consequences of a private quarrel, he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and in the following spring his estates were sequestrated. These hardships, operating on a disposition in which loyalty might be said to have been almost natural, rivetted his attachment to the royal cause. He was liberated in December, 1658, and suffered to return to his own house, where he remained till the design for the restoration became publicly rumoured, when he fled to the King at Breda, and remained with him till that great event occurred.

Charles, thus at leisure to observe his character, found in him much to esteem as a friend, and yet more to recommend him as a servant, especially to such a Prince. In addition to his affection to the Crown, and to the family which held it, his resolution in executing his master's commands was as remarkable as his invariable obedience to them; it is perhaps needless therefore to say that he had little bias towards any particular system of government, and still less regard to any party or faction in the state. Charles, even before the restoration, seems to have determined to intrust to him the chief management of the affairs of Scotland. On the first of June, 1661, he was appointed President of the Council in that country, and one of the four Lords

extraordinary of the Session, and was constituted the King's High Commissioner to the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the eighteenth of June in the following year. The staff of High Treasurer, which had been held by Crawford, his father-in-law, was presently after delivered to him, with the singular accompaniment of commissions of general of the forces, and captain of the troop of horse guards; and in the summer of 1663 he was nominated to the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal. A charter was issued to him about the same time, re-granting his Earldom, and other titles of peerage, with such numerous and wide remainders as rendered it nearly impossible that they should ever quit his blood; and in the succeeding year, on the death of the Earl of Glencairn, the Great Seal was placed in his hands, with the style of Lord Keeper.

Certain it is that he earned these excessive favours, if not by a sacrifice of all public principle, at least by a most reprehensible ductility. He was largely concerned in procuring that extravagant bill of the year 1661, called by the Scots "the Act recissory," by which all the Parliaments that had been held in Scotland since 1633 were declared illegal, and all their proceedings annulled. This frightful measure, which, however pregnant of general confusion and mischief, aimed only at the overthrow of the kirk, was concerted with the furious Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, to whom, with respect to ecclesiastical affairs, Rothes seems in a great measure to have devoted himself; yet, while he secretly forwarded it, he scrupled not to promise his favour to the covenanters, reserving himself to take such part as he might find most agreeable to the King, to discover whose precise inclination he made purposely a journey to London. The English prelates, to whom Sharp had recommended him as the instrument by whom episcopacy was to be restored in Scotland, received him with rapture, nor was Charles less lavish of his approbation. He returned to Scotland with increased favour and power, and the Earls of Middleton and Lauderdale, his colleagues in the Scottish

administration, who in the beginning had given him abundant proofs of their jealousy, now, from a despair of ability to undermine him, or from an unwillingness to share in the unpopularity which threatened him, in a great measure left him to follow his own course, and confined themselves to the business of their respective offices. Meanwhile he offended his sober countrymen little less by the looseness of his private conduct than by his rigorous opposition to the novelties of their religious discipline. He abandoned himself to all sorts of pleasures, and the enemies to the court ironically apologised for his licentiousness by remarking that the King's Commissioner ought to represent his master's person.

Rothes from a ministerial opponent presently degenerated into a persecutor. The military were scattered in those parts of the country in which the covenanters abounded: the parish priests were directed to transmit lists of such of them as avoided the established worship to the general, Sir James Turner; and they were forced into the churches at the point of the bayonet. Turner, though a most obedient soldier, and naturally rough and furious, was frequently reprehended by him for acting too mildly with them. The covenanters resented these outrages by an insurrection so ill concerted, and so weakly supported by any persons of power, that they were discomfited on their first appearance in arms. Rothes, who was then at the Court, and who had persuaded the King, perhaps believing it himself, that all but a few obstinate fanatics had submitted, on receiving the news, posted into Scotland, with intentions sufficiently vindictive, which however were fomented to the utmost on his arrival by the influence of the Primate. About fifty of the insurgents, who were mostly of the lowest class, were put to death; many fled to Ireland; the more moderate covenanters sullenly obeyed, and abandoned their conventicles; and a miserable calm, simply the effect of terror, succeeded. It was evident however that a state of order so procured could not be long maintained, and the remedy was

obvious. Two of the independent nobility, members of the established church, went to London, and represented to the King with firmness the state of the country, and the causes of the evils under which it suffered, and besought him to dismiss the ministers to whom they ascribed them.

Charles was moved by their arguments, and dispatched an order to Scotland that the Primate should be restrained from going to Edinburgh, and confined to his diocese, but he hesitated as to Rothes, for whom he entertained a real friendship. Such indeed was that nobleman's influence over his mind, or such his own secret affection to the measures that he was requested to relinquish, that, even while he seemed to give way to the counsels of those lords, a letter from the Earl prevailed on him to impower the Scottish Privy Council to require all whom they suspected to be enemies to the church to renounce the covenant, and to proceed against such as refused it as traitors, directing however by a private order that such power should not be exercised to the utmost but by his special command, further than for the purpose of exciting terror in the contumacious. By a second, and bolder, suggestion to the King, at the same critical period, he seemed to render the overthrow of his own authority inevitable, inasmuch as it drew down on him the resentment of the whole body of the nobility. He charged a majority of the Privy Council with disaffection to the church, and proposed that a special council should be nominated, to sit at Glasgow on ecclesiastical affairs, and so far was he from concealing this imprudent advice that he avowed it even to the Earl of Lauderdale, who was not only a professed covenanter, but his known enemy. In the mean time the two Scottish peers, who yet remained in London, redoubled their efforts against him, but the King still paused, when an accident is said to have produced the crisis to which those endeavours had been hitherto vainly applied. A division of the Dutch fleet which in 1667 sailed up the Thames, was directed to enter the Frith of Forth; to threaten an attack, by way of

feint, on the Scottish coast; and then secretly to join de Ruyter, in that well-known enterprize. A great consternation was excited in that part of the country, but the matter ended in the discharge of a few innocent shot against the works at Bruntisland. Rothes happened to be then on a progress in the north, and not only the danger which it was pretended had menaced Scotland was charged by his enemies on his absence, which was represented as gross negligence, but even the subsequent insult which tarnished for a time the naval glory of England was in some measure ascribed to the same cause.

Charles at length consented to deprive him of the immoderate power with which he had been invested, and which he had exercised with so much indiscretion, and indeed tyranny; this however was accomplished gradually, and with all possible mildness, for the King had determined to dismiss him with no signs of disgrace. The army, contrary to his advice, was first disbanded, by which his commission of General was reduced to a mere title. Rothes now flew to the Court; besought the aid of the Duke of Monmouth, who had married his niece, and condescended to apply himself even to Lauderdale; but it was too late. He was presently deprived of the Treasury, but with a special approbation, under the Great Seal, of his conduct in that post. The rest of his offices followed, except only that of the Privy Seal, which he held for many years after, and now came the counterpoise, in Rothes's mind very unequal, to these severe mortifications: in the month of October, 1667, shortly before which time these alterations had occurred, he was placed for life in the dignified rather than powerful station of High Chancellor of Scotland.

From that period he had scarcely any ostensible concern in the government of the country. Charles's attachment to him however remained unaltered, and there is little reason to doubt that he was secretly consulted to the last on the affairs of Scotland. The strongest proof of his master's esteem was yet to come. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1680, he was created Duke of Rothes, and

Marquis of Ballinbreich, to which were added several other titles of peerage, with remainder to his heirs male, of which, though at that time he only had daughters, he was not of an age to despair; but he survived the acquisition of these new dignities little more than one year. He died at Holyrood House, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1681, and was buried at Leslie, with an extravagance of pomp, scarcely ever equalled in the funeral of a subject; so remarkable indeed as to have been commemorated by an engraving, specially for that purpose. Little can be said of this nobleman's character, which seems indeed to have presented no one prominent feature. The blame of his administration was rather due to him who placed it in such hands than to himself. Totally inexperienced in political affairs, and not less careless of religion itself than ignorant of ecclesiastical government, he was sent to preside in a state then chiefly occupied in the difficult task of re-establishing an overthrown Church. The errors of his public and private conduct were the usual errors of an uncultivated mind, and he was indebted for whatsoever degree of credit he at any time gained to lively talents, and an agreeable temper. Burnet, who knew him well, and was not his friend, speaks perhaps more favourably of him, and tells us that "he had a ready dexterity in the management of affairs, with a soft and insinuating address. He had a quick apprehension, with a clear judgement. He had no advantage of education; no sort of literature: all in him was mere nature." The Bishop informs us in another place that he was very facetious in conversation, of which he gives an instance too gross to be repeated.

The Duke of Rothes married Anne, daughter of John Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, by whom he had two daughters; Margaret, and Christian; the Dukedom of course died with him. The elder of these ladies, who became the wife of Charles Hamilton, fifth Earl of Haddington, succeeded to the titles of Countess of Rothes, &c. and from her the present Earl is descended; the second married, first, James, third Marquis of Montrose; secondly, Sir John Bruce, of Kinross, Baronet.

Engraved by J. Cochran.

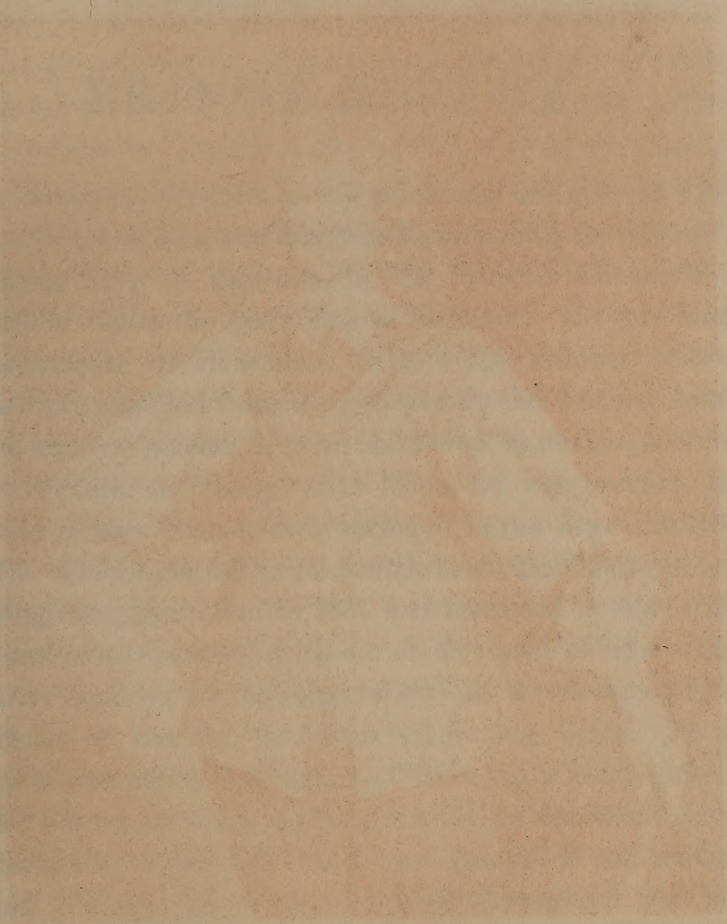
PRINCE RUPERT.

OB. 1682.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF CRAVEN.

London, Published Jan^y 1, 1835, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.



PRINCE RUPERT.

This illustrious person was the third son of Frederic, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and afterwards, unhappily for himself and his House, King of Bohemia, by the Princess Elizabeth, only daughter of James the first, King of England. He was born on the seventeenth of December, 1619, a few months before his parents were expelled from their throne by the decisive battle of Prague, and was placed, in mere childhood, in the hands of Prince Henry Frederic of Orange, with whom he was present, and is said even to have been actively engaged, at the siege of Rhynberg in 1632. He fought under that celebrated commander in several following campaigns, and in 1637 was intrusted by him with the command of a regiment of Horse, at the head of which he was soon after captured by the Imperialists, and was detained by them a prisoner of war for the three succeeding years. Thus his education was purely military, and these early habits according with his nature, in which nothing it must be confessed seems to have been very remarkable but a most invariable and undaunted personal courage, he devoted himself throughout his life so abstractedly to the profession of a soldier, that we catch few glimpses of him in any other character.

He regained his liberty not long before his Royal Uncle set up his standard against his rebellious subjects, and Charles sent for him to take the command of the Horse in the small army which first appeared on that dismal occasion. With these, which amounted to little more than eight hundred, he took up his quarters at Leicester, from whence he was shortly and suddenly removed, on the rumour of an unexpected march towards the Severn of a powerful detachment from the main force under the

Earl of Essex, to Worcester, a city well affected to the King, but with very slender means of defence. The rebels, unknown to him, had arrived immediately before, and he was actually stretched on the grass in a meadow near the town, with his brother, Prince Maurice, and his principal officers, to take the first opportunity of repose after a march of great fatigue, when a body of five hundred Horse appeared defiling in good order up a narrow lane, within musquet shot of them. They had scarcely time to mount their horses, and none to consider of what was to be done, but the Prince's presence of mind rendered all consultation unnecessary. He saw in the moment his danger and his advantage. The position of the enemy was such that the rear could not advance to support the van, nor could the van retreat but in the greatest disorder, while the lapse even of a few minutes would have enabled them to form, and present a formidable front in the open field. He was therefore scarcely on horseback when he gave the command to charge, and in a moment overthrew them, killing their leader, Colonel Sandys, and pursuing the fugitives for more than a mile. This complete rout, on the first occasion in which the King's Horse had been engaged, and under such untoward circumstances, much daunted the rebels, who, with the prejudice commonly inspired by ill success, looked on the Prince for a long time after as one of the first generals of the age, and considered the royal cavalry, when under his command, as nearly invincible.

He had scarcely entered Worcester, after this gallant action, when the news arrived that Essex was marching thither with his whole army. He retired therefore to Ludlow, the King being then at the head of the army in and about Shrewsbury, and attended his Majesty to the general rendezvous at Bridgenorth, where he found his Horse increased to the number of two thousand. Here a difficulty arose, on a point of ceremony, which it would be unnecessary to mention did it not let us somewhat into Rupert's character, of which we meet with so little intelligence.

When his commission of General of the Horse was granted, a clause was inadvertently inserted by the literal interpretation of which he was bound to obey no orders but such as he should receive from the King himself. Of the absurdity of such a regulation, so considered, it is needless to speak, but the Prince thought fit to take it in that sense. Charles was awakened in the middle of the night by the news of the approach of the enemy, and hastily dispatched Lord Falkland, who by the way too was his principal Secretary of State, to carry his orders to the Prince, who angrily declined to receive them from a third person. This tale would be incredible were it supported by a meaner authority than that of Lord Clarendon. "He could not have directed his passion," says the noble historian, "against any man who would feel or regard it less than Lord Falkland. He told him that it was his office to signify what the King bade him, which he should always do; and that his Highness in neglecting it neglected the King, who did neither the Prince nor his own service any good by complying in the beginning with his rough nature. But the King," continues Clarendon, "was so indulgent to him that he took his advice in all things relating to the army; and upon the deliberation of their march, and the figure of the battle they resolved to fight in with the enemy, he concurred entirely with Prince Rupert's advice, rejecting the opinion of the General, the Earl of Lindsey, who had been bred, and with longer experience, in the same military school." Lord Clarendon adds that "the reservedness of the Prince's nature, and the little education he then had in Courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the Lords, who were thereby likewise discouraged from applying themselves to him; whilst some officers of the Horse were well pleased to observe that strangeness, and fomented it, believing their credit would be greater with the Prince, and desiring that no other person should have credit with the King. So the war was scarcely begun when there appeared such faction and designs in the army which wise men looked upon as a very

evil presage, and the inconveniences which flowed from thence gave the King great trouble in a short time after."

Such was the inauspicious prelude to the battle of Edge Hill, which occurred soon after, and in which the Royal army would have gained a complete victory but for the ill-timed ardour of Rupert, who, having in the very beginning of the action signally overthrown and scared the main body of the rebel Horse, indulged so long in the pursuit of them that, on his return, he found their reserve charging the royal infantry with great success, and the King's person in imminent danger of falling into their hands. The impetuous valour of the Prince however, of which his troops had caught no small portion, redeemed much of the advantage which it had lost, and this, together with the reputation acquired in the action by the rest of the army, and, above all, the King's march immediately after towards London, so appalled the rebels that they sent certain members of each House of Parliament with an overture of treaty, who met him at Colnbrook on his way. He answered them favourably, and they left him, expecting, though no stipulation had been made to that effect, a suspension of hostilities till they should return; when, on the very morning of their departure, Rupert, without orders, advanced with his Horse to Hounslow, from whence he sent to the King, requesting him to follow with the rest of the army, which he was obliged to do, lest the probable retreat to which the Horse might be compelled should be cut off by Essex, who was in great strength in the neighbourhood. The Prince, thus joined by the whole force, attacked the rebels in the town of Brentford, and utterly routed them, with great slaughter, taking five hundred prisoners, and fifteen pieces of cannon. A messenger from the Parliament, which at this time seems to have been sincerely inclined to treat, arrived during the heat of the action, and retraced his steps to London, which presently resounded with exaggerated reports of the King's treachery, and the consequences of this little victory proved higly prejudicial to the royal cause.

The King now removed his army to Reading, from whence he detached the Prince, with four thousand Horse and Foot, to besiege Cirencester, which the rebels were labouring to fortify. Rupert passed it, making a feint to attack Sudely Castle, which they had lately seized, and, suddenly turning again, attacked the town unexpectedly with his whole force, and in one hour took it by storm, with eleven hundred prisoners, and three thousand stand of arms. From hence, after an unsuccessful attempt on Gloucester, he marched into Wales, where he recruited his force, and returning, reduced the eminently disloyal town of Birmingham, and, after a siege of several days, contested on each side with equal bravery, the city of Litchfield. The siege was scarcely ended when he was recalled by the King, then at Oxford, for the relief of Reading, which however surrendered to the rebels upon articles immediately after his arrival, and in returning beat up in the night the quarters of Essex's army in the neighbourhood of Thame with singular gallantry and profit; and when the enemy, recovered from the surprize, had united a very superior force, he feigned a precipitate retreat before them, till having arrived at a small plain, advantageously situated for his purpose, he faced about, and received their attack with a firmness so little expected that they fell into disorder, and were presently wholly routed. This rencontre, known by the name of the battle of Chalgrave Field, was rendered remarkable by the loss to the rebels of their great favourite, John Hampden, a leader not less inverate and obstinate in the field than in Parliament, by whom they were commanded, and who died a few days after of his wounds.

The King shortly after determined to besiege Bristol, which the rebels had fortified with all the strength, that it's importance demanded, and Rupert, having opposed in a council of war, and at length over-ruled, a proposal strenuously supported, to attack it by regular approaches, carried it by assault in three days. It surrendered on the twenty-fourth of July, 1643, but the joy

produced by this great success was much abated by the terrible loss of lives in the conflict, particularly of officers, and almost extinguished by an unlucky competition between the Prince and the Marquis of Hertford, now General in chief, for the right of appointing a governor of the captured city. They contested this point with so much warmth that Charles, apprehending the danger of the army becoming divided into two parties, as indeed it had already, at least in opinions, made a journey from Oxford to Bristol solely with the view of composing their quarrel, which his affection for the Prince, who was evidently in the wrong, left him no other means of performing than by an honourable removal of the Marquis from his command to the office of Groom of the Stole, alledging to that nobleman, and indeed not without sincerity, his earnest desire to have his counsel and his society always at hand. Rupert now marched with the King to the ineffectual siege of Gloucester, on leaving which, he enabled himself, by a march of surprizing expedition, to fall unexpectedly on the rear of Essex's army on it's return from the relief of that city, and to throw it into such disorder that the King, who had been for a few days racing, as it were, with Essex for the possession of the town of Newbury, entered it with the main army, before the Earl had left Hungerford, whither Rupert had compelled him to retreat. The first battle of Newbury, for another afterwards occurred there, was fought on the following day, when the Prince again displayed the most consummate valour. It is curious to remark that the only unsuccessful charge made by him in that arduous action was against the trained bands of London, who withstood it with a firmness not less brave than unexpected, and baffled all his efforts against them.

He returned to Oxford with the King, who summoned a Parliament to meet there on the twenty-second of January, 1644, N. S. and on that occasion created him Duke of Cumberland and Earl of Holderness, and invested him with the Garter. He marched a few weeks after to Chester, where he received the

King's command to collect such reinforcements as that country might afford, and to attempt the relief of Newark, then besieged by a powerful force. In this enterprize his success, which was complete, was the result of a most imprudent ardour. "He undertook it," says Lord Clarendon, "before he was ready for it, and so performed it." Advancing only with his Horse, and leaving his infantry four miles behind him, he routed a numerous advanced guard of the rebel cavalry, and, flushed by that event of his bravery, made unexpectedly a general attack on their whole line, and gained the most summary victory that had occurred during the war, having exposed too his own person with an extravagance of temerity of which it afforded no parallel instance. He had scarcely performed this important service when he received a pressing request from the Earl of Derby to repair into Lancashire to the aid of the Countess, whose celebrated defence for eighteen months of the Earl's mansion of Latham, which she had fortified, has been already mentioned at large in this work. Having obtained the King's concurrence, he marched thither, taking on his way four or five garrisons from the rebels, and raised the siege with great gallantry, and terrible slaughter.

He now hastened to the relief of York, besieged by the Scots, united with what was called the Earl of Manchester's army, under the command of Cromwell, as his Lieutenant General. The Prince had been joined on his march by the Marquis of Newcastle's forces, led by that nobleman, and so appalled were the besiegers by the suddenness of his unexpected arrival, and the exalted reputation of his prowess, that they instantly abandoned the siege in a confusion which was in no small degree increased by the jealousies that subsisted between the English and Scottish troops, which had arisen to such a height that, could Rupert have rested content with the signal advantage he had already gained, their great army would have been dissolved, even in his sight, by the heat of it's internal discord. But he determined to give them battle; withdrew the whole of the garrison

to strengthen his inferior force; and, without summoning a council of war, or even consulting with his compeer, Newcastle, whom, by the way, he despised and disliked, commenced the attack at Marston Moor. The bravery and the imprudence which had distinguished him at Edge Hill were now precisely re-acted. He fell on the Scots, whom he mortally hated, with a fury so irresistible that their whole army was presently completely routed, and, flying in the utmost disorder, was pursued by the Prince, with his victorious Horse, for several miles. In the mean time Cromwell and Fairfax charged the troops under the Marquis of Newcastle with almost similar success, and when Rupert returned from the chace, he found them utterly beaten and dispersed, and himself unable to retrieve the loss. Stung with rage and disappointment, he now forgot his duty to the King, and his own fame, and on the following morning retreated with a precipitation which had almost the air of a flight, spitefully taking with him the whole of the Marquis's Horse, which had been raised at vast expence by that Nobleman, who, on his part, withdrew himself to Hamburgh. The Prince retraced his steps through Lancashire and Salop, and joined the King in Somersetshire, who seems to have received him without displeasure, and indeed appointed him presently after General in chief of the royal army.

This new mark of favour produced ill effects. "The King's army," says Lord Clarendon, "was less united than ever. The old General," (Ruthven, lately created Earl of Brentford) "was set aside, and Prince Rupert put into the command, which was no popular change; for the other was known to be an officer of great experience, and had committed no oversights in his conduct; was willing to hear every thing debated, and always concurred with the most reasonable opinion. The Prince was rough and passionate, and loved not debate; liked what was proposed as he liked the persons who proposed it; and was so great an enemy to certain persons that he crossed all they

proposed." He now marched northward with the King, for the relief of Chester, where he received advice that Fairfax had sat down before Oxford, which was esteemed the seat of the King and his Court. To divert him from that enterprize it was determined to attack some considerable garrison of the rebels; Leicester was chosen for that purpose; and, in the first week of June, 1645, Rupert carried that town by storm, with tremendous havock of the rebels. The expected result ensued. Fairfax raised the siege of Oxford, and, advancing by forced marches towards the Royal army, arrived within six miles of it before the King had been apprised even of his removal from thence. Charles instantly resolved to meet him, with a very inferior force, and in the beginning of the conflict, the Prince charged and pursued the main body of the rebel Horse with such vigour and success that the event of the day seemed scarcely doubtful, when a circumstance, not less mysterious than singular, in which however he had no concern, produced the most fatal defeat that had occurred to the King during the war, and decided the battle of Naseby, in the issue of which the unhappy Charles lost his Crown and his life. Rupert retreated in the evening, with the King and his broken troops, to Ashby de la Zouche, and from thence to Hereford, which Charles presently left to repair into South Wales, while the Prince marched to the defence of Bristol, now the most important post retained by the Crown, which the rebels were preparing to attack in great force. He arrived there in the beginning of July, and found the place well fortified and victualled, and wrote cheerfully to the King, pledging himself to defend it for at least four months: He had abundant time to repair defects, if any existed, for Fairfax, with his besieging army, did not appear before it till the twenty-fourth of the succeeding month: yet, on the tenth of September, after suffering a partial storm, it was, to the astonishment of all people, surrendered by treaty to that General. The bitter mortification and anger excited in the mind of the King by this most unexpected event, are strongly marked

in the following letter to one whom he had loved and indulged with the tenderness of a parent.

" Nephew,

Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much affliction to me that it makes me not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action? I give it the easiest term; such —— I have so much to say that I will say no more of it: only, lest rashness of judgement be laid to my charge, I must remember you of your letter of the twelfth of August, whereby you assured me that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days? Was there anything like a mutiny? More questions might be asked, but now I confess to little purpose. My conclusion is to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my condition, somewhere beyond sea, to which end I send you herewith a pass; and I pray God to make you sensible of your condition, and give you means to redeem what you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a victory than in a just occasion, without blushing, to assure you of my being

Your loving uncle, and most faithful friend,

Hereford, 14th Sept. 1645. C. R."

By the same express which conveyed this letter Charles signified to the Lords of the Council at Oxford, whither Rupert had retired after the loss of Bristol, his pleasure that they should require him to deliver his commission into their hands. Contrary to the expectation and the wish of many who knew him well, he submitted to the deprivation, but determined not to quit the realm till he should have explained to the King on the subject

of the late misfortune. Charles seems to have avoided the meeting, which did not occur till towards the end of the next month, when, after various wanderings, he arrived at Newark, where he learned that Rupert was at Belvoir Castle, with his brother, Prince Maurice, and many officers. The King wrote to him, charging him to remain there till he received further orders, and taxing him with disobedience to former commands, and the very next day he came to Newark, with his train, and presented himself to his Majesty. Charles bore this contumacy with patience; listened silently to his apology; and the next day signed a short declaration, acquitting him of any suspicion of disloyalty in the surrender of Bristol, but not of indiscretion. The King then expected him to depart, but he still loitered at Newark, and a few days after, on the occasion of his Majesty's superseding, though without disgrace, the governor of that garrison, who had served under him, went suddenly with his brother, and surrounded by officers, into the presence of the King, who was then at dinner, and loudly and coarsely complained that the gentleman had been dismissed solely because he was his friend. Charles resented this mutinous affront, for it was nothing less, no otherwise than by commanding them to quit his presence, and to return to it no more, and in the evening of the same day they sent a request that the discharged governor might be tried by a "Court of War;" and, in the event of the King's refusal, that they might have passes to enable them to leave the country, a boon which he readily granted; and, having obtained a similar accommodation from the Parliament, Rupert passed over into France.

We hear not of him after this period till the end of May, 1648, O. S. when he accompanied the Prince of Wales on his coming to Calais to take the command of part of the fleet which had suddenly revolted from the rebels. Charles, after some insignificant successes on the English coast, returned into Holland, and Rupert, gladly accepting a commission of Admiral in Chief, sailed in the beginning of the following winter to the coast of Ireland,

where he was for some months blocked up in the harbour of Kinsale by Popham, one of the Parliament admirals. At length he fought his way desperately through the rebel squadron, and escaping from a state of inactivity so odious to him, cruised for some months in the Mediterranean with such success that Blake, the best of their naval officers, was sent with sixteen men of war, and instructions to bring him to an action. He found the Prince in the Port of Lisbon; required of the King of Portugal that he might engage him there; and, in spite of a refusal, proceeded to the attack, which was successfully resisted by the fire from the fortresses on the shore. Blake was soon after compelled by want of provisions to quit the Tagus, and Rupert, skirting along the coast of Spain, burned several English ships, and, avoiding his antagonist with difficulty, and some loss, sailed into the Adriatic, and from thence to Toulon, where he passed the winter of 1650. In the spring of the next year he put to sea again, with five men of war, and two fire-ships; and was again successful in making several prizes in the Mediterranean; and in the summer sailed to the Madeiras, in the hope of intercepting the Spanish plate fleet, or seizing the Island of St. Domingo, both which objects were frustrated. In coasting the Caribbee islands he lost his brother, Prince Maurice, his Vice-admiral, together with the ship which he commanded, and, after having vainly waited for many weeks in those seas for intelligence of them, returned to France, and landed at Nantz in March, 1653, having encountered extravagant dangers and hardships with the intrepidity which always so remarkably distinguished him. Charles, whose necessities had long detained him much against his will, in the French Court, flattered himself that the produce of the prizes brought by the Prince might have enabled him to depart, and was disappointed; while Rupert took fire on being questioned upon that head, and, his ill humour being fomented by Sir Edward Herbert, lately raised to the empty title of Keeper of the Great Seal, his old friend and confident, who disliked, and was disliked by,

every one else, became a warm partizan in the petty feuds which distracted the exiled Court. At length completely discontented, he resolved to quit it, and, under the pretence of attending to some hopeless family affairs in the Palatinate, he resigned the office of Master of the Horse, which had been conferred on him by the late King, and in the spring of 1654, went to Germany, where he remained till the Restoration.

He followed Charles to England soon after that great event, but it may be presumed that he was not received with perfect cordiality, for he was not admitted to the Privy Council till the year 1662. If any coolness however subsisted, it was soon removed, for in the following year the King chose him for his companion in a progress through some of the western counties, and in 1664 appointed him to command a fleet of sixteen men of war in the channel, where he captured a multitude of Dutch prizes. In 1665, he served bravely under the Duke of York in his victorious action with the fleet of that nation on the third of June: "Prince Rupert," says Lord Clarendon, "did wonders that day:" and in the succeeding year, the Queen Dowager having exacted a promise from the King that James should no more hazard his person in naval warfare, was invested with the command of the fleet, jointly with Monk, who was not less prudent than brave. That stupendous conflict in the channel with the united fleets of France and Holland, which began on the first of June, and may be said to have continued for four days, and which has been so minutely described and so frequently celebrated, immediately followed their appointment. The treaty of Breda succeeded, and he was no more in active service till the close of the year 1672, when, at the commencement of what was called the second Dutch war, he was appointed, on the death of the Earl of Sandwich, to the station of Vice-admiral of England, and, on the presently subsequent disqualification of the Duke of York by the Test, to that of first Commissioner for executing the office of Lord High Admiral. On the twenty-eighth of May,

1673, in concert with a fleet from France, now in alliance with us, he attacked the Dutch on their own coast, under all the disadvantages of hasty and imperfect equipment, and obtained a most compleat victory, almost without loss, himself commanding the van, and personally fighting like a lion. The modest simplicity of his hasty dispatch to the Secretary, Arlington, written immediately after this brilliant action, is too characteristic to be wholly passed over. Let the few concluding lines serve as a specimen—"All the officers and common seamen, generally, behaved themselves very well, of which I shall send you the particulars when I am better informed; in my squadron, more especially, Captain Leg, Sir John Holmes, Captain Wetwang, Captain Story, Sir Roger Strickland, and Sir William Reeves. The first took a ship of the enemy's, and the latter brought up a fireship, and laid himself to leeward of Trump; and if the Captain of the fireship had done his duty, Trump had certainly been burnt; notwithstanding which, Story and Wetwang so belaboured them that Reeves cleared himself from the crowd of the enemies. I hope his Majesty will be satisfied that, considering the place we engaged in, and the sands, there was as much done as could be expected; and thus I leave it to his Majesty's favourable construction, to whom I wish many happy years, this being his birthday. RUPERT."

Early in the succeeding month the Dutch again ventured to sea, and the Prince, immediately getting under way, cannonaded them back to their own shores, without any general action; but a new contest presently occurred, in which both parties engaged with a fury so desperate that it seemed as though they had met with a mutual resolution that the war should be terminated, as in fact it was, by the event of that day. In the heat of the combat, Rupert was in a manner deserted by the French, and left, with a few ships, in the midst of the Dutch fleet. His destruction seemed for a time inevitable, when, by a rapid series of the most masterly movements, aided by that undaunted bravery, the

measure of which always seemed in him to increase with that of the danger which threatened him, he not only extricated himself, but made subsequently such judicious arrangements as insured the victory which ensued. This brilliant action, which was fought on the eleventh of August, 1673, concluded Prince Rupert's warlike services.

He retained however his office of the Admiralty, and was about this time appointed Governor of Windsor Castle, which became his favourite retirement, and on the maintenance and adornment of which he bestowed the most part of his income. Here he employed himself almost incessantly in the cultivation of useful and elegant arts, with a spirit of enquiry so indefatigable and successful as to give him a fair claim to the title of a natural and experimental philosopher; and put to the test in his curious laboratory those theories which his mind had delighted to form in times of less leisure. An elegy of little merit, by some unknown hand, subjoined to a small volume of "Historical Memoires of the Life and Death of that wise and valiant Prince, Rupert, Prince Palatine of the Rhine," published in 1683, commemorates these scientific pursuits in the following concluding lines—

"Nor is thy memory here only crown'd,
But lives in arts, as well as arms, renown'd;
Thou prideless thunderer that stoop'd so low
To forge the very bolts thy arm should throw;
Whilst the same eyes great Rupert did admire,
Shining in fields, and sooty at the fire,
Perceiving thee, advanced in arms so far,
At once the Mars and Vulcan of the war."

Dr. Birch, in his History of the Royal Society, informs us that this Prince invented an improvement in the manufacture of gunpowder, by which it's force was increased in the proportion of twenty-one to two; a screw, by which the accurate use of the quadrant was secured against exterior agitation; a gun, which discharged at once a great number of bullets; an improved

method of blasting rocks; a curious engine to raise water; an instrument of great use in drawing perspective; and the composition of a mixture, within memory much in domestic use, called after him, "Princes metal." But the discovery which we find most frequently associated with his name is of the art of engraving in mezzotinto, the first hint of which is said to have occurred to him from observing the effect accidentally produced by a soldier scraping some rust from the barrel of his musquet. His right however to the strict reputation of inventor has been somewhat questioned, but with little probability. He was an eminent patron of commerce, and an active member of the board established for it's superintendance; erected the Hudson's Bay Company, of which he was the first governor appointed; and was not less active in promoting the interests of the African Company, to which end he asked the King's permission to sail with a squadron to the coast of Guinea, which was kindly refused.

Rupert's character was so marked by simplicity and sincerity that the mere inferences to be drawn from his conduct will furnish the truest picture of it. His temperament, not unfrequent in those of his country, was at once ardent and phlegmatic, and he was scarcely more remarkable for the splendor of his bravery than for the patience with which he endured his reverses of fortune. He was so free from selfishness as to be indifferent even to the exalted fame which he had so hardly and justly earned, and of such honour and honesty as to keep always totally aloof from political parties and employments, in which it is so difficult to maintain either in spotless purity. In the less important parts of his character he was strictly a humourist. The delightful Grammont, who introduces him as a lover, says of him——"Il étoit brave et vaillant jusqu'à la témérité. Son esprit étoit sujet à quelques travers, dont il eut été bien faché de se corriger. Il avoit le genie fécond en expériences de mathématiques, et quelques talens pour la chimie. Poli jusqu'à l'excés quand l'occasion ne le demandoit pas; fier, et même brutal, quand il

étoit question de s'humaniser. Il étoit grand, et n'avoit que trop mauvais air. Son visage étoit sec et dur, lors même qu'il vouloit le radoucir; mais dans ses mauvaises humeurs, c'étoit une vraie physionomie de réprouvé." The portrait before us tends to contradict the latter part of this passage. Is it possible that the increase of years, or the hardships of war, could have produced such a perversion of features?

Prince Rupert died of a fever and pleurisy, at his house in Spring Garden, on the twenty-ninth of November, 1682, and was buried in the Royal vault in Westminster Abbey. He was never married, but left two illegitimate children, a son, who bore the name of Dudley Rupert, by a daughter of Henry Bard, Viscount Bellamont of Ireland; and a daughter, baptised Ruperta, who married Emanuel Scrope Howe, a general officer, and brother to Scrope, first Viscount Howe. The mother of that lady was Margaret Hughes, a person of obscure rank, with whom he passed the remainder of his life, and for whom he purchased the noble seat built by Sir Nicholas Crispe, near Hammersmith, at an expence of twenty-five thousand pounds, and made otherwise an ample provision.

Engraved by W.T. Mote.

JOHN MAITLAND, DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

OB. 1682.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

London, Published Nov^r 1, 1831 by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

JOHN MAITLAND,

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

This nobleman, who appears so conspicuously in the strange group of ministers to whose mismanagement Charles the second for many years committed the affairs of Scotland, was the eldest son of John, second Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, and first Earl of Lauderdale, by Isabel, second daughter of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, and Chancellor in that country. He was born at Lethington, one of the ancient seats of his family, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1616, and was educated with great care and strictness, as well in the doctrines and discipline of the Kirk as in the learned languages, in which he attained to a remarkable proficiency. He entered early into public life, and joined the covenanters with an apparent zeal, which, though chiefly the effect of a naturally over-heated disposition, was so grateful to the leaders of that party, that they admitted him immediately to their confidence; and finding the character of his talents, as well as of his temper, peculiarly suited to the prosecution of their favourite views, employed him in their most material and secret concerns, particularly with the rebel party in England. Thus in 1643 he was joined with the Earl of Loudon and some others in a commission from the Church of Scotland to insult and embarrass the unhappy Charles, by requesting him to engraft its principles on the ecclesiastical establishment of his own dominions, and by proposing to that end the solemn farce of a conference between certain divines on each side; and in the following year was one of the four commissioners appointed by the Parliament for the Scots at the treaty of Uxbridge, in which he is recorded to have distinguished himself by a vehemence and

obscurity of expression by which the negotiation, probably for the purpose, was considerably retarded. He succeeded to the titles and estates of his family by the death of his father a few weeks before the commencement of that treaty.

From this period to the catastrophe of the tragedy he was constantly a principal actor in those scenes of injustice and hypocrisy which have so deeply disgraced the memory of the persons who then governed his country. He was a party to the detestable bargain by which they sold their King to his English rebels, and among the loudest of those who presently inveighed against the infamy of that transaction. When Charles, after the vicissitudes which succeeded it, was allowed in 1647 a short interval of apparent freedom at Hampton Court, he presented himself to the unhappy Monarch as a friend, and soothed him with assurances of the loyalty and power of Scotland, which waited impatiently for his call to spring into activity. "No men appeared with more confidence here," observes Lord Clarendon, "than the Scottish Commissioners, the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Lauderdale, and the rest, as if they had been the men that contrived his restoration: no men in so frequent whispers with the King: and they found some way to get themselves so much believed by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent correspondence, that her Majesty very earnestly persuaded the King to trust them, as the only persons who had power and credit to do him service, and to redeem him from the captivity he was in." The result was a secret proposal for a separate treaty with Scotland, dictating to the King even harder terms than his own Parliament had at any time endeavoured to exact from him. Charles for the time refused; but at length, when all other ground of hope was lost, yielded to the pressing instances of Lauderdale, and signed the articles on the twenty-sixth of December, in his prison of Carisbroke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, consenting, among many other bitter conditions, to subject the Church throughout his dominions to the provisions of the covenant; while the Scots, on their part,

stipulated to raise an army for the invasion of England, and to use all other endeavours to restore him to his throne. This treaty, or rather a compact entered into by several eminent Scots to carry it into effect, is usually referred to in Scottish history by the denomination of " the Engagement."

Lauderdale now returned to his country, and, to do him justice, seems to have endeavoured with vigour and sincerity to serve the cause which he had thus pledged himself to support. After a short stay there he was sent to Holland, to press the Prince of Wales to put himself immediately at the head of the army, in conformity to an article in the treaty, and executed his commission with so much of that heat and insolence which were natural to him as to thwart in a great measure the object for which he had accepted it. In the mean time the Scottish army, which had marched into England, was defeated; and having been informed on his return to the coast that the Parliament of Scotland, terrified at the disaster, had condemned the Engagement, and denounced penalties on those who had taken it, put back without disembarking, and, more from necessity than affection, again joined the Prince's little Court at the Hague. There he remained, perplexing its measures by his prejudices and private resentments, particularly against the gallant and loyal Montrose, who had also taken refuge there, till some time after the murther of Charles the first, when the Kirk and Council of Scotland, having thought fit to send an invitation to the young King, Lauderdale, among others, attended him thither. The party however which then governed, formed of that outrageous class of covenanters to whom royalty, even under the most severe modifications, was secretly even more hateful than episcopacy, peremptorily insisted on his quitting Charles's presence, and he fled to a place of concealment, to avoid a prosecution for the active part which he had taken in the Engagement. The meeting of a new Parliament curbed in some degree the fury of this party, and the prohibition was relaxed. He was suffered to come to the Court, and Charles,

surrounded only by persons justly odious to him, insensibly formed a sort of attachment to the individual from whom he had received the fewest injuries. Lauderdale presently after accompanied the King on his march into England, at the head of a Scottish army; was taken prisoner in the battle of Worcester; and confined in the Tower of London, and other places, for the nine succeeding years.

He was at length liberated by Monk, in March, 1660, and once more presented himself at the Hague to the King, who was preparing to ascend his throne, and to settle the plan of his government. Charles had determined that the affairs of Scotland should be committed to the direction of natives of that country, and it contained few who could expect any share of his confidence; fewer who had any claim on his gratitude, or hope from his affection. Lauderdale, who, in addition to the negative merit which had formerly attracted the King's notice, had now the endurance of a rigorous persecution and tedious confinement to plead for him, became a canndidate for his favour, and obtained it with little difficulty. Charles, almost immediately after the restoration, appointed him to the office in Scotland of Secretary of State; and those of President of the Council, first Commissioner of the Treasury, an extraordinary Lord of Session, a Lord of the Bedchamber, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle, were soon after conferred on him. The chief power of the government was whimsically divided between him and the Earls of Middleton and Rothes, who were as earnest for episcopacy as Lord Lauderdale for the covenant, and the period of their joint administration passed in an unceasing contention, in which the latter at length prevailed. Middleton was disgraced in 1662, and Rothes in 1667, when Lauderdale attained to the most absolute dominion over Scotland that had ever been exercised by any subject.

The commencement of his rule was not only mild but patriotic, and he acquired considerable popularity. He procured for the Scots, by persuading Charles of their loyalty, the demolition of

the fortresses which Cromwell had built and garrisoned in most parts of the country; he opposed, though ineffectually, all attempts to re-establish the hierarchy, which produced a high opinion of his consistency, while his arguments with Charles on the subject were in fact urged only on the score of political views; and thus he endeared himself at once to Scotland and to the King, by impressing on the one a belief of his entire devotion to the kirk, and on the other, a notion of his indifference to all but its temporal influence. He prevented the establishment, devised by Lord Clarendon, of a Scottish Privy Council to sit in London, asserting the peril in which such a a measure must involve the religion and laws of Scotland: above all, he shielded from punishment the multitude of his countrymen who had drawn the sword against the late King. In all these, and in many other respects, he acted in direct opposition to Charles's inclination, yet his favour daily increased. Historical speculatists have solved this difficulty by averring that he had secretly promised the King to aid him to the utmost in his endeavours to attain to arbitrary power, and had persuaded him that these indulgencies to Scotland would tend to that effect.

Nor is this by any means an extravagant conjecture; for from the year 1669, when he was appointed the King's High Commissioner to the Parliament, the sole object of his administration seems to have been the support and advancement of the royal prerogatives. To qualify himself for this pursuit, he appears to have given way to a complete political regeneration. His principles, his prejudices, his obstinacy, inasmuch as related to the affairs of the Church and State, at once forsook him, and he alternately flattered and vilified, courted and persecuted, episcopalians and presbyterians, whigs and tories, as he could render them by turns subservient to the will of his master. In return for these unworthy sacrifices Charles loaded him with dignities. On the second of May, 1672, he was created Marquis of March and Duke of Lauderdale; on the second of the following June,

a Knight of the Garter; and on the twenty-fifth of June, 1674, he was advanced to the peerage of England by the titles of Viscount Petersham and Earl of Guilford, and, about the same time admitted into the English Privy Council. He now attached himself to the measures of those four ministers who by his accession to their party enabled their adversaries to designate them by the reproachful word "Cabal," composed of the initial letters of their several names, and, outstripping them all in the race of tyranny and corruption, rendered himself presently as odious and as formidable in England, as he had long been in his own country, which he still misgoverned with the most uncontrolled licence.

At length, in 1680, his credit was observed to decline. The Cabal was broken up, and his authority, and his intrigues, were now in a great measure confined once more to Scotland, which was visited in that year by the Duke of York. That Prince, to whom he had been long distasteful, had lately conceived a bitter hatred to him for having given his vote as a Peer of England against the unfortunate Viscount Stafford. James openly countenanced the party which had long endeavoured to ruin him, and probably prevailed on the King, by whom their efforts had been hitherto rendered ineffectual, to abandon him. Early in the year 1682 he was dismissed from all his offices, and even the pensions which had been granted to him and his Duchess, were taken from them. "All these things," says Burnet, "together with a load of age, and a vast bulk, so sunk him that he died that summer. His heart seemed quite spent. There was not left above the bigness of a walnut of firm substance: the rest was spungy; liker the lungs than the heart." His death happened at Tunbridge, on the twenty-fourth of August in that year, and he was buried at Haddington.

That Prelate has left us a character of him, drawn with such life and freshness, that, however long, will not be thought tedious.—"The Earl of Lauderdale, afterwards made Duke, had been for many years a zealous covenanter, but in the year forty-

seven he turned to the King's interests, and had continued a prisoner all the while after Worcester fight, where he was taken. He was kept some years in the Tower of London, in Portland Castle, and in other prisons, till he was set at liberty by those who called home the King. So he went over to Holland. And, since he continued so long, and, contrary to all men's opinions, in so high a degree of favour and confidence, it may be expected that I should be a little copious in setting out his character, for I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance. He was very big: his hair red, hanging oddly about him. His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked too; and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned, not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians, ancient and modern, so that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham once called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression; abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him: that would rather provoke him to swear he would never be of another mind. He was to be let alone; and perhaps he would have forgot what he said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend, and the violentest enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it. He at first despised wealth; but he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality, and by that means he ran into vast expense, and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind, but he wore these out so entirely that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience of affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that

he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King, that no attempt against him, nor complaint of him, could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against Popery and arbitrary government, and yet, by a fatal train of passions and interests, he made way for the former, and had almost established the latter; and, whereas some by a smooth deportment made the first beginnings of tyranny less discernible and unacceptable, he by the fury of his behaviour heightened the severity of his ministry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquisition, than the legality of justice. With all this he was a presbyterian, and retained his aversion to King Charles the first and his party to his death."

The Duke of Lauderdale was twice married; first, to Anne, second daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Home, by whom he had an only daughter, his sole heir, Anne, married to John Hay, second Marquis of Tweedale. His Duchess was Elizabeth, sole issue of William Murray, Earl of Dysart, which title she enjoyed by descent. By this lady, remarkable for her talents and her gallantries, he had no children.

HENEAGE FINCH,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

Heneage Finch, a most eminent lawyer, a celebrated orator, and an earnest, though honest, supporter of what were called the measures of the court in the reign of Charles the second, was born on the twenty-third of December, 1621. He sprung from a family already ennobled and powerful, his grandmother, Elizabeth, only child and heir of Sir Thomas Heneage, a Privy Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth, who had amassed great wealth by the long possession of many lucrative offices, having been raised to the peerage by James the first, and in the following reign advanced to the title of Countess of Winchelsea. Sir Heneage Finch, also a celebrated lawyer, and Speaker of the House of Commons in the First Parliament of Charles the first, the fourth son of that lady, by her husband, Sir Moyle Finch, married Frances, daughter of Sir Edmund Bell, of Beaupré Hall, in Norfolk, and the subject of this memoir was their first born son.

His education was suited to his rank, first in Westminster school, and afterwards at Christ Church in Oxford. He became a gentleman commoner of that college in 1635, and removed from thence to study the laws in the Inner Temple, where he was so much distinguished by his acuteness and assiduity that he carried with him to the bar no small degree of reputation. He contented himself there during the usurpation with an extensive private practice: indeed no man was less likely to be employed, or even tolerated, by the rebel government, for the whole of his family had been eminently loyal: his kinsman, Sir John Finch, Lord Keeper in the beginning of the troubles, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the popular party, and had fled to the

continent to avoid the vengeance of its leaders; and his first cousin, Heneage, second Earl of Winchelsea, was well known to be in the confidence of the exiled King. These circumstances, as might naturally be expected, joined to the high professional character that he had acquired, recommended him powerfully to the favour of Charles the second, who, immediately after the restoration, named him for the post of Solicitor General, to which he was appointed on the sixth of June, 1660, and on the following day was created a Baronet. In the succeeding April he was elected to serve in Parliament for the University of Oxford. These promotions did not withdraw him from his services to the learned society in which he had received his legal education. He had already filled in succession most of the offices in the municipal establishment of the Inner Temple, and, in the autumn of 1661, distinguished himself in that of reader, by a lecture of uncommon excellence on the statute of the thirty-ninth of Elizabeth, for the recovery of the debts of the Crown, a subject which had never before been so discussed. Anthony Wood mentions the ceremonies by which this reading was attended, inferring, doubtless, that the splendor of the feasts, and of the guests, was to be considered as a mark of respect to the reader. "The first day's entertainment," says Wood, "was of divers Peers of the realm, and Privy Counsellors, with many other of his noble friends: the second, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and chief citizens of London; the third, of the whole College of Physicians, who all came in their caps and gowns: the fourth was of another long robe; for all the Judges and Advocates, Doctors of the civil law, and all the society of Doctor's Commons: the fifth was of the Archbishops, Bishops, and chief of the clergy; and the last which was on the fifteenth of August, was of the King, Duke of York, Lord Chancellor, most of the Peers, and great officers of Court, the Lords Commissioners of Scotland and Ireland," &c. A larger detail of these matters may be found in Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales.

The life of a lawyer who travels little out of the duties of his

profession seldom possesses much historical interest. For many years we hear nothing of Finch but that he gave some umbrage to the learned body which he represented in the House of Commons, by disappointing the hopes, probably founded on somewhat like a promise, of his aid in procuring the abolition of the unpopular impost called hearth-money; and that he supported with great zeal in the Parliament which sat at Oxford in 1665 the bill which afterwards obtained the name of the five mile act, by which all silenced ministers were required to take an oath, "declaring that it was not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King, or any commissioned from him; that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of Church or State;" and forbidding such as should refuse that oath to come within five miles of any city, or parliament borough, &c. At length on the tenth of May, 1670, he was appointed Attorney General, and on the ninth of November, 1673, was placed in the office of Keeper of the Great Seal, upon the dismissal of the acute and profligate Shaftesbury. On the tenth of the succeeding January the title of Baron Finch, of Daventry, in the County of Northampton, was conferred on him; and on the nineteenth of December, 1675, he resigned the Seal to the King for the purpose of again immediately receiving it, with the title of Lord High Chancellor. In the course of the same year he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerset.

In 1677 he sat as Lord High Steward of England on the trial of Philip Earl of Pembroke, as he did in 1680 on that of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, on which latter occasion the speech in which he pronounced judgement on that unfortunate nobleman was esteemed a model of eloquence. We have in the history of that year a remarkable instance of his prudence, and presence of mind, in the management of an affair of peculiar delicacy. Charles had granted a pardon to the impeached Earl of Danby, and the Commons, in a flame, deputed a Committee to demand of the Chancellor an account of the circumstances under which it had

passed. He answered, with much simplicity, that the King had commanded him to bring the Seal to Whitehall, and that having arrived there, he laid it on a table, whereupon his Majesty, having written his name at the top of the parchment, ordered that the Seal should be taken out of the purse, and applied to the instrument, which was accordingly done, by the officer who usually carried the purse; "and this," said the Chancellor, "I was obliged to submit to because it was not in my power to hinder it." Thus he shifted to the King his responsibility, and connived at a measure directly opposite to the inclination of the Commons, without materially offending either. Charles indeed gave him at this precise time a clear proof of favour and confidence by committing chiefly to him the nomination of a Privy Council, formed on new principles; a measure which he so highly approved that he declared "it looked like a thing fallen from heaven into his Majesty's breast." His health was then declining, and we do not after that period find his name peculiarly connected with any public affair which has claimed the notice of history. On the twelfth of May, 1681, his services were finally rewarded by a grant of the dignity of Earl of Nottingham; and on the eighteenth of December, in the following year, he died at his house in Queen Street, Covent Garden, and was buried at Raunston, near Olney, in Buckinghamshire.

This nobleman's public life might have exhibited more events had his character involved fewer perfections. Honest, prudent, loyal, calm, and decorous, he stood in security amidst the political agitations which unhappily distinguished his time; firm, without obstinacy; yielding, without meanness; and decently ambitious, without provoking jealousy. His memory has had the rare good fortune to be cherished by writers of all parties. Wood, whose pen was seldom employed in adulation, tells us that, "in the most boisterous and ticklish times, when the swoln waves beat highest, occasioned by the Popish plot, he behaved himself with so regular, exactly poised, and with such even steadiness, whilst

others, whose actions not being so exactly balanced, either were discharged from their offices, or else they themselves by an ungenerous cowardice voluntarily resigned them up, as unwilling manfully to encounter approaching difficulties of which they pretended to have prospects, that he still stood firm in the good opinion of his Prince; and, which is more to be admired, at that time, when many worthy ministers of state were by the malice of designing men branded with the old infamous character of evil counsellors, in order to have them to be run down and worried by the violent outrages of the unthinking, giddy, and headstrong multitude, he was neither bandied against, or censured in the more private and seditious cabals, nor was his master publicly addressed to for his removal." Burnet, the only author who has breathed an adverse censure on him, says, "he was a man of probity, and well versed in the laws. He was long much admired for his eloquence, but it was laboured and affected, and he saw it as much despised before he died. He had no sort of knowledge in foreign affairs, and yet he loved to talk of them perpetually, by which he exposed himself to those who understood them. He thought he was bound to justify the Court in all debates in the House of Lords, which he did with the vehemence of a pleader, rather than with the solemnity of a senator. He was an incorrupt judge, and in his Court he could resist the strongest applications, even from the King himself, though he did it nowhere else. He was too eloquent on the bench, in the House of Lords, and in common conversation." Yet Burnet, with an inconsistency not unfrequent with him, says in another place, "His great parts, and greater virtues, are so conspicuous, that it would be a high presumption in me to say any thing in his commendation." Tate, in his second part of the poem of Absalom and Achitophel, devoted to him this grand and beautiful eulogium—

"Our list of nobles next let Amri grace,
Whose merits claim'd the Abethdin's high place;
Who, with a loyalty that did excel,
Brought all th'endowments of Achitophel.

Sincere was Amri, and not only knew,
But Israel's sanctions into practice drew:
Our laws, that did a boundless ocean seem,
Were coasted all, and fathom'd all, by him.
No Rabbin speaks like him their mystic sense;
So just, and with such terms of eloquence;
To whom the double blessing does belong—
With Moses' inspiration Aaron's tongue."

Lord Orford, in his devotion to whiggism, observes, and with what degree of justice let the reader determine, that Wood, in the passages quoted above, "represents him as a great temporizer." But his Lordship could not help adding that, "though he certainly offended neither the Court or the patriots, if he had shown great partiality to the latter, there is no doubt but the King would have dismissed him, being by no means so dangerous a man as his predecessor, Shaftesbury. That his complaisance for the prerogative was not unbounded was manifest by the King being obliged to set the Seal himself to the Earl of Danby's pardon. The truth is," adds the noble biographer, "that the Earl of Nottingham was neither violent nor timid: when he pronounced sentence on the Lord Viscount Stafford, he did not scruple to say 'Who can doubt now that London was burned by the Papists?' Burnet calls this declaration indecent: if it was so to the unhappy convict, it was certainly no flattery to the predominant faction at Court," &c.

Many of his professional remains may be found scattered in various books. His speeches and discourses on the trials of the regicides, when he was Solicitor General, are in more than one edition of those proceedings; his speech on passing judgement on Lord Stafford is in the State Trials: several uttered by him in Parliament, between the years 1672 and 1680, and several answers to addresses presented to the King, at Hampton Court, in 1681, are also in print. The arguments on which he founded his decree in a great cause between the Hon. Charles Howard and Henry, Duke of Norfolk, and others, forming a folio volume of some size, were published three years after his death; and he left a large

collection of Chancery Reports, in manuscript, which it may be presumed yet remain with his noble descendants.

The Earl of Nottingham married Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Harvey, a merchant of London, by whom he had fourteen children, of whom Daniel, the eldest, was the ancestor of the Earls of Winchelsea and Nottingham; and Heneage, the second, of the Earls of Aylesford. The younger sons were William, bred to the law; Charles, Edward, and Henry, clergymen; Robert, Edward, John, and Thomas, who died unmarried; the three latter in their father's life-time. His daughters were Elizabeth, married to Samuel, son and heir to Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls; Mary, and Anne, who died, probably infants, before their father; and another Mary, who died unmarried, having survived till 1735.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

DAVID LESLIE, FIRST LORD NEWARK.

OB. 1682.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

London, Published May 1 1833, by Harding & Lepard, Pall Mall East.

DAVID LESLIE,

FIRST LORD NEWARK.

Of the very ancient Scottish family of Leslie, so many branches of which have been ennobled, was Patrick Leslie of Pitcairly, a cadet of the House of Rothes, whose eldest son, Patrick, was created Lord Lindores, and married Jane, second daughter of Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney. David, the subject of the following brief memoir, was the fifth son of that marriage.

He was bred a soldier, under the care, as may be clearly inferred from a variety of coincident circumstances, of that remarkable old puritan general, Alexander Leslie, afterwards Earl of Leven, his kinsman, but in a degree too remote even for specific denomination. The one had served for many years in the celebrated campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus, in whose armies he rose to the station of Field Marshal; the other, who entered at a later period into the service of that Prince, attained the rank of Colonel of Horse: both returned to Scotland in 1639, when the covenanters took up arms against Charles the First, and, simultaneously espousing their cause, Alexander accepted the command in chief of the insurgents, and David the commission of Major General under him: both withdrew themselves from the rebels at the same time, and both stopt short in the career of their returning loyalty, by refusing to join in the engagement, proposed in Scotland in 1648, for the raising of an army to rescue their unfortunate Sovereign from the hands of his rebellious English subjects. From this unity of action it has happened more than once that facts which belonged to the story of the one have been ascribed by later writers to the other, and it is indeed sometimes very difficult to distinguish them.

The severe loss in the battle of Marston Moor by the royalists, on the second of July, 1644, which was the first action of any note in which David distinguished himself after his arrival in England, was attributed in a great measure to the skill and gallantry with which he led a large body of cavalry to the attack of the right wing of the King's army, and in the disgrace which afterwards befel the main body of the Scottish army on that day he had no share, beyond joining in its flight from the field, which he could not have avoided without disobeying the orders of his general. He was soon after detached into Cumberland, where he obstinately besieged, and at length reduced, Carlisle, and defeated the forces which had been raised for the King by the gentlemen of that county, and placed under the command of Sir Philip Musgrave; and in the beginning of the following year was suddenly recalled into Scotland, with all the Horse, of which he was now appointed Lieutenant General by an act of the Scottish Parliament, to oppose the Marquis of Montrose, the success of whose romantically glorious and unexpected enterprize had spread terror through the whole country. In this service, and in the step by which he immediately followed it, his military fame became firmly and justly fixed. After a march of almost unexampled celerity, he attacked Montrose, compleatly by surprise, and, having defeated him in the battle of Philiphaugh, forced him to return into the Highlands, with great loss. He then retraced his way, with equal speed, and appeared again, as unexpectedly, before Hereford, at that time besieged by the rebels, whose force there had been dangerously weakened by the detachment from them of his Horse. The Parliament of Scotland now loaded him with rewards, voting to him fifty thousand marks, and, soon after, on the dismissal of their army by the English rebels, a thousand pounds monthly, of their money, together with the commission of Lieutenant General of all their forces. In that character he returned with the Scottish troops to the borders early in the spring of 1646.

The miserable Charles, whose affairs were everywhere rapidly declining, was at this time hesitating whether to throw himself on the generosity of his English or Scottish subjects. At length he determined to enter privately into a treaty with the covenanters, the unhappy result of which was his flight in disguise from Oxford, and his arrival, on the fifth of May, at the head quarters of Leslie, near Newcastle on Tyne, by whom he was received with all outward demonstrations of respect. A combination of circumstances had rendered that officer, for the hour, perhaps, the most powerful man in Scotland, and Charles became presently convinced, not only of the importance of his countenance, but of the indifference, if not disaffection, to his own cause of the great leaders of parties in the country. He endeavoured therefore to purchase the friendship of Leslie by a promise of the Earldom of Orkney, and of splendid revenues, which Leslie, perhaps honourably, at all events warily, communicated to the Scottish government, and submitted his answer to their decision. After long delay, they determined that he should make no engagement with the King, their infamous sale of whose person to his English rebels speedily followed.

The total overthrow of royalty kept Leslie in inactivity till the spring of 1650, when he was again called to the field, to resist the final effort of the incomparable Montrose, whose utter defeat he arrived however only in time to witness. His personal treatment of that great man, who had for a few days eluded his pursuers in a mean disguise, after he became his prisoner, has left a stain on his memory. "The Marquis of Montrose," says Lord Clarendon, "and the rest of the prisoners, were the next day, or soon after, delivered to David Leslie, who was come up with his forces, and had now nothing to do but to carry them in triumph to Edinburgh, whither notice was quickly sent of their great victory, which was received there with wonderful joy and acclamation. David Leslie treated the Marquis with great insolence, and for some days carried him in the same clothes and habit in which he was taken,

but at last permitted him to buy better," &c. Even while the tragedy of the brutal persecution and death of that pure and disinterested loyalist was performing, such was the barbarous and absurd inconsistency of the time, a negotiation was concluded between the States of Scotland and the exiled Charles the Second, for the acceptance of him as their Sovereign, and he landed in the country exactly one month after the execution of the Marquis. The arrival of the King was a signal to Cromwell for the invasion of Scotland. Leslie encountered him with equal prudence and bravery, and, by a profound exertion of military skill, so hemmed in his army in the neighbourhood of Dunbar that its ruin seemed inevitable, when he was compelled by the orders of the body which had called itself " the Committee of Church and State," and exercised the executive power, to relinquish the advantageous position which he had taken. Cromwell, in consequence, vanquished him in the battle of Inverkeithing, and Leslie was compelled to retire, with the shattered remains of his army, to Stirling, where he joined the King, with whom, after several months passed in recruiting his forces, he marched into England, at the head of ten thousand Scots, of whom Charles had given him the chief command, under himself, closely followed by Cromwell.

They proceeded, with few interruptions, to Worcester, where it was determined to wait the arrival of Cromwell's superior, and daily increasing forces, and to give battle. The King, and his little army, were in good spirits, and full of hope: Leslie alone was gloomy and pensive. On the occasion, during their march, of some partial success over a body of the rebel troops, under Lambert, " the King," to use the words of Lord Clarendon, " having observed David Leslie throughout the whole sad and melancholy; and (at the time when the enemy retired, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good retreat used to be made), slow in giving orders, and residing by himself; his Majesty rode up to him, and asked him, with great alacrity, how he could be sad, when he was in

the head of so brave an army, which he said looked well that day, and demanded of him how he liked them? to which David Leslie answered him in his ear, being at some distance from any other, that he was melancholy indeed, for he well knew that army, how well soever it looked, would not fight, which the King imputed to the chagrin of his humour, and gave it no credit." His prediction however was, a few days after, on the third of September 1651, fully and fatally verified. The result of the battle of Worcester, as it is undeservedly called, for it was in fact the mere rout of a panick-stricken army, is well known. Leslie's exertions to avert the evil seem to have been very feeble; strong doubts arose of his fidelity, and even personal reproaches were levelled at him. Lord Clarendon tells us that, "when he was in his flight, considering one morning with the principal persons which way they should take, some proposed this, and others that way, Sir William Armorer, an officer of remarkable courage and loyalty, asked him which way he thought best? which when he had named, the other said he would then go the other, for he swore he had betrayed the King and the army all the time, and so left him."

Leslie lost the whole of his infantry, and, with fifteen hundred Horse, escaped with great difficulty into Yorkshire, and there fell into the hands of the rebels, who sent him to London, where he was fined four thousand pounds, and imprisoned in the Tower, and so remained till the restoration. The suspicions which had fallen on his loyalty were in great measure cleared away by this persecution, and not less by the declaration of that just and acute judge of the motives and actions of men, the noble historian lately quoted, who says—"Upon all the enquiry that was made, when most of the false and treacherous actions which had been committed were discovered, there appeared no cause to suspect that David Leslie had been unfaithful in his charge, though he never recovered any reputation with those of his own country who wedded the King's interest; and it was some vindication to him

that from the time of his imprisonment he never received any favour from the Parliament, whom he had served so long, nor from Cromwell, in whose company he had served, but underwent all the severities and long imprisonment the rest of his countrymen suffered. The King did not believe him false, and did always think him an excellent officer of Horse to distribute and execute orders, but in no degree capable of commanding in chief; and, without doubt, he was so amazed on that fatal day that he performed not the office of a General, or of any competent officer."

He had been nine years in confinement when the King regained the Throne, and his liberation was marked by acts of royal favour, literally singular in the history of unfortunate commanders. Charles, from mere good nature, for he could have had no other motive, on the thirty-first of August, 1661, created him Baron Newark in Scotland, and added to that dignity a yearly pension of five hundred pounds. We hear little of him after that period. He probably retired, disappointed and humiliated, into privacy, but the breath of censure followed him, and invaded his repose. He obtained therefore, for doubtless it had been requested, the following testimonial from the King, in the form of a letter, dated on the tenth of June, 1667.——" Although we have upon all occasions, both abroad, and since our happy return, declared ourself fully satisfied with your conduct and loyalty in our service; and although, in consideration of the same, we have given you the title and honour of a Lord, yet, seeing we are told that malice and slander do not give over to persecute you, We have thought fit to give you this further testimony, and to declare, under our hand, that while you was our Lieutenant General of our army, you did, both in England and Scotland, behave yourself with as much conduct, resolution, and honesty, as was possible, or could be expected from a person in that trust; and, as We told you, so do We again repeat it, that if We had occasion to levy an army fit for ourself to command, We would not fail to give you an employment in it fit for your quality."

To these notices I will add only a few not despicable lines, extracted from a publication, in three octavo volumes, 1713, now rarely to be met with, entitled " the History of the Grand Rebellion, by Edward Ward," and consisting of engravings of the most remarkable persons of each party, with short abstracts, in verse, of their respective histories. Attached to the portrait of Lord Newark is the following, containing only a brief recapitulation of what has been here more circumstantially told, yet of some value, as it shews the degree of estimation in which his character was held soon after his death.

" A good Horse officer, but scarce could boast
Sufficient conduct for the highest post ;
Yet had he been successful in the fall
Of brave Montrose, a greater General,
Whose foreign troops by numbers he o'erpower'd,
And made the Earl the captive of his sword.
But when the Scots did for the King declare,
And with the English Parliament made war,
Leslie, who in that service was employ'd,
Was left by fortune when he chang'd his side,
And did at Worcester battle basely lose
The laurels he had won against Montrose,
And from the field, with troops unbroken fled,
Whilst loyal thousands in the contest bled,
Himself being taken prisoner in his flight
Towards Scotland after the unhappy fight ;
Whilst prosp'rous Cromwell triumph'd in success,
And forc'd the King to find a hiding place ;
Many suspecting Leslie had betray'd
His trust, and that the faulty steps he'd made
Were wilful ; but the hardships he endur'd,
In the long season that he dwelt immur'd,
Rescued his reputation from so base
A calumny, and wip'd off the disgrace.
Thus fortune, whose uncertain smiles we court,
Oft favours fools, and makes the brave her sport,
Who then to-day's success would proudly boast,
Since all, the next adventure, may be lost ?"

Lord Newark died in the year 1682. He had issue, by his Lady, Jane, daughter of Sir John Yorke, one son, David, who succeeded to his title; and six daughters; Elizabeth, married to Sir Alexander Kennedy, of Cullean, Bart.; Mary, first to Sir Francis Kinloch, of Gilmerton, in the county of Haddington, Bart., secondly, to Sir Alexander Ogilvie, a Lord of Session; Margaret, wife to Col. James Campbell, fourth son of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll; Helen, Anne, and Joanna, who died unmarried.

Engraved by H.T. Ryall.

DOROTHY SIDNEY. COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND.

OB. 1684.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

London, Published June 1.1832 by Harding & Lepard. Pall Mall East.

DOROTHY SIDNEY,

COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND.

The subject of this memoir has been so largely celebrated under a fictitious title that she is little known by her own, and Sacharissa, but for the pains of modern commentators, might have been mistaken for a lovely creature of the poet's imagination. Her bard, really inspired by the tender passion, in chanting the praises of her beauty raised his own fame, without rendering justice to her's. He has left a sweet but unfinished picture, conscious probably of his inability to pourtray her character; for there is reason to fear that Waller was little sensible to the charms of virtue, and Lady Sunderland seems to have been faultless.

She was the eldest of the eight daughters of Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester of his family, by Dorothy, daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, and was born in the year 1620. Her parents were the chief ornaments of the almost irreproachable court of Charles the first; not more distinguished by their good sense, politeness, and perfect honour and probity, than by those mild and sweet affections, which form the great charm of private life. This daughter, if they made a distinction which it is always difficult for parents to avoid, appears to have been their favourite. In the many little enquiries and communications between the Earl and Countess, respecting their numerous family, which may be found scattered in the "Sidney Papers," it is easy to discover that her name is always mentioned with more than ordinary solicitude; and, when the years of childhood had passed over, the same degree of anxiety is manifested as to the choice of a husband for her.

Before she had reached the age of sixteen she was surrounded by suitors. It appears indeed by a letter in the Strafford collection that Lord Russell, the heir of the great house of Bedford, had been allotted to her by the gossips of the court even so early as in the spring of 1635; and it is probably to that nobleman that the Countess alludes, in a letter to the Earl her husband, of the nineteenth of the succeeding December, in which she says "it would joy me much to receave sume hope of that Lord's addresses to Doll which you writt of to me; for, next to what consearns you, I confes she is considered by me above any thing of this world." This negotiation however failed, and Lord Russell was succeeded by the Earl of Devonshire. On the fourteenth of March, 1636, the Countess writes—"I am confident that if Holland had shewed himself reall to my Lord of Devonshire's marrieng Doll, which he professed, thaie wold never have imploied him in making a mariage for another; wich makes me conclude that eather his Ladie commaunds him to hinder Doll, or ells he is so weake, and so unfaithfull, as his friendship is not worthie the least rushe." Another of her letters, May the eighteenth, 1637, in which we find that Devonshire was retiring from his pretensions, introduces to us, in no very favourable light, a new lover. "Now conserning Doll, of whom I can neather saie what I desier, nor what I thought I should have done; for I find my Lord Lovelace so unsertaine, and so idle; so much addicted to meane companie, and so easily drawne to debocherie; as it is now my studie how to breake off with him in such a manner as it maie be saide that we refused him; for since Sundaie last we have not seene him, though he be everie daie verie neere us. Many particulars I could tell you of his wildnes; but the knowleg of them would be of no use to you, since he is likelie to be a stranger to us; for, though his estate is good, his person pretie enowfe, and his witte much more then ordinarie, yet daire I not venture to give Doll to him. And concerning my Lord of Devonshire I can saie as little to please you; for, though

his mother and sister maide faire shows of good intentions to us, yeet in the ende we finde them, just as I expected, full of desaite and jugling. The sister is gone from this towne, but the yonge Lord is still here, who never visited us but once, and yeet all the towne spoke of a marriege, which I thinke came upon my Lord of Holland's divolging his confidence that it wolde be so, and he conceaves that he had much reason to beleeve what he did. My deere hart, lett not these crose accidents troble you; for we do not know what God has provided for her."

Of Waller's addresses to her in any other character than that of a poet little is known but that they were offered, and rejected. He had been left a widower at the age of five and twenty, with a fine person, a large estate, and the most refined accomplishments. The dignified feelings however of the nobility of that day induced her parents, burthened as they were with a most numerous family, to dismiss him with disdain. It has been said that he was so severely afflicted by the disappointment as to have resolved to quit his country for ever; but it is known that he remained at home, and soon after took a second wife. The mind that can pour forth its griefs in song will find no great difficulty in recalling a desperate resolution.

At length, on the eleventh of July, 1639, she was married, at Pensehurst, to Henry, third Lord Spencer, soon after created Earl of Sunderland, of whose admirable character and story as a faint sketch is given elsewhere in this collection, little need be here added. Mutual affection, equally ardent and delicate; similarity, almost exact, of ages and dispositions; youth, and health, and virtue; seemed to have combined to bless their union, and to promise them lengthened days, crowned with the highest felicity. But it was otherwise decreed. Sunderland, full of loyalty and patriotism, and blushing at the thought of being absent from a contest in which grey-headed nobles were hastening to take the field, tore himself from his sweet consort, and, following the King to York, appeared in arms as a volunteer at

Nottingham, when the Royal Standard was erected there on the twenty-second of August, 1642; served for twelve months, with the gallantry and skill of a veteran soldier; and fell, pierced by a cannon ball, at the battle of Newbury, on the twentieth of September, 1643. The letter written to her by her father on this terrible occasion is fortunately preserved in the Sidney Papers. It is of great length, composed with excellent judgment, and the most affecting tenderness. I will select one short extract, more particularly because it tends to disclose some features of the delightful character of her to whom it was addressed.

"Your reason will assure you that, besides the vanity of bemoning that which hath no remedy, you offend him whom you loved if you hurt that person whom he loved. Remember how apprehensive he was of your dangers, and how sorry for any thing that troubled you. Imagine how he sees that you afflict and hurt yourself. You will then believe that, though he look upon it without any perturbation, for that cannot be admitted by that blessed condition wherein he is, yet he may censure you, and think you forgetfull of the friendship that was between you, if you pursue not his desires in being carefull of yourself, who was so deare unto him. But he sees you not. He knows not what you do. Well; what then? Would you do any thing that would displease him if he knew it because he is where he doth not know it? I am sure that was never in your thoughts; for the rules of your actions were, and must be, virtue, and affection to your husband; not the consideration of his ignorance or knowledge of what you do: that is but an accident; neither do I think that his presence was at any time more than a circumstance not at all necessary to your absteining from those things that might displease him, &c."

The affection of this excellent parent and child towards each other was fully reciprocal. A few of Lady Sunderland's letters are to be found in the Sidney Papers. They were written mostly before her marriage; addressed to her father; very short, and

containing little but expressions of duty and endearment. I cannot however refrain from inserting one of them, peculiarly characteristic of the sweet humility of her disposition, as well as affording an agreeable example of the finished style in which she had learned to clothe her sentiments.

" My Lord,

Had not my intentions bine deverted by the trouble of a distemper which a great cold produced, and since that by the expectation of Rochell's coming hither, I would not have bine thus slow in presenting your Lordship with my most humble thankes for the many fine things that you have bestowed on mee. And, though they will be my greatest ornements, which is of much consideration by persons no wiser then I am, they could not give me any contentment but as I understand they are expressions of your Lordship's favour, a blessing that above all others in this world I do with most passion desier; and my ambition is that whatsoever your Lordship doth propounde to be in the perfectest good child upon the earth you may find accomplisht in me, that will ever be your Lordship's most affectionet, most humble, and exactly obedient,

D. Sidney."

Nor must Waller's admirable letter on her marriage, written to her sister, the Lady Lucy Sidney, though already frequently printed, be omitted here. The annals of gallantry surely cannot furnish another instance of such sprightliness from the pen of a disappointed lover.

" Madam,

In this common joy at Penshurst I know none to whom complaints may come less unseasonable than to your Ladyship, the loss of a bedfellow being almost equal to that of a mistress; and therefore you ought at least to pardon, if you consent not to, the imprecations of the deserted, which just heaven no doubt will hear.

"May my Lady Dorothy (if we may yet call her so) suffer as much, and have the like passion for this young Lord, whom she has preferred to the rest of mankind, as others have had for her; and may this love before the year go about make her taste of the first curse imposed on womankind, the pains of becoming a mother. May her first born be none of her own sex, nor so like her but that he may resemble her Lord as much as herself. May she that always affected silence, and retiredness, have the house filled with the noise and number of her children, and hereafter of her grand children; and then may she arrive at that great curse, so much declined by fair ladies, old age. May she live to be very old, and yet seem young; be told so by her glass, and have no aches to inform her of the truth: and when she shall appear to be mortal, may her Lord not mourn for her, but go hand in hand with her to that place where we are told there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage; that, being there divorced, we may all have an equal interest in her again. My revenge being immortal, I wish all this may also befal their posterity to the world's end, and afterwards.

"To you, Madam, I wish all good things; and that this loss may in good time be happily supplied with a more constant bed-fellow of the other sex. Madam, I humbly kiss your hands, and beg pardon for this trouble from,

Your Ladyship's most humble servant,

EDM. WALLER."

To forbear from giving here at least one quotation from the poems of her constant bard would needlessly add to the imperfections of this sketch. Of the numerous tributes of Waller's muse to Sacharissa most are insignificant, and none of very high interest. Perhaps the best is to be found in some very lively lines "to Amoret," said to have been a Lady Sophia Murray, which Dr. Johnson, in his life of Waller, has honoured by observing that they are among those of his poetical pieces, whose "excellency

ought to save them from oblivion." Johnson, in another place, seems to refer the poet's complaints in these verses of her haughtiness and severity to the general character of her mind; but it is clear that Waller meant to apply them merely to her rejection of his addresses.

TO AMORET.

Fair, that you may truly know
What you unto Thyrsis owe,
I will tell you how I do
Sacharissa love, and you.
Joy salutes me when I set
My blest eyes on Amoret;
But with wonder I am struck
While I on the other look.
If sweet Amoret complains,
I have sense of all her pains;
But for Sacharissa I
Do not only grieve but die.
All that of my self is mine,
Lovely Amoret, is thine:
Sacharissa's captive fain
Would untie his iron chain,
And, those scorching beams to shun,
To thy gentle shadow run.
If the soul had free election
To dispose of her affection,
I would not thus long have borne
Haughty Sacharissa's scorn:
But 'tis sure some power above
Which controuls our wills in love:
If not love, a strong desire
To create and spread that fire
In my breast solicits me,
Beauteous Amoret, for thee.
'Tis amazement, more than love,
Which her radiant eyes do move:
If less splendour wait on thine,
Yet they so benignly shine,
I would turn my dazzled sight
To behold their milder light;
But as hard 'tis to destroy
That high flame as to enjoy,
Which how eas'ly I might do
Heav'n (as eas'ly scal'd) does know,
Amoret, as sweet and good
As the most delicious food,
Which, but tasted, does impart
Life and gladness to the heart.
Sacharissa's beauty's wine,
Which to madness doth incline:
Such a liquor has no brain
That is mortal can sustain.
Scarce can I to heav'n excuse
The devotion which I use
Unto that adored dame;
For 'tis not unlike the same
Which I thither ought to send.
So that, if it could take end,
'Twould to heav'n itself be due
To succeed her, and not you,
Who already have of me
All that's not idolatry;
Which, though not so fierce a flame
Is longer like to be the same.
Then smile on me and I will prove
Wonder is shorter liv'd than love.

To return however to the simple truth, Lady Sunderland at the death of her Lord was left great with child, and was delivered, soon after that sad event, of a daughter, which scarcely survived its birth. She then retired to his estate of Brington, in Northamptonshire, where she lived for several years, distinguished only

by the benignity of her disposition, and by the invariable exercise of every religious and moral duty. "She is not to be mentioned," says Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyalists, "without the highest honour in this catalogue of sufferers, to so many of whom her house was a sanctuary, her interest a protection, her estate a maintenance, and the livings in her gift a preferment." At length, on the eighth of July, 1652, she married, apparently at the request of her father, Robert Smythe, a Kentish gentleman, of the family of the Viscounts Strangford in Ireland, which was already allied to her house. Him also she survived, and, dying in 1683-4, was buried on the twenty-fifth of February in that year, at Brington, with her Lord, by whom she left one son, Robert, his successor, and one daughter, Dorothy, married to Sir George Savile, Bart., afterwards Marquis of Halifax. By her second husband she had an only child, Robert, Governor of Dover Castle, under Charles the second, to whom that venerable judge, Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, who died not many years since Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was grandson.